1: Gifford

OU9 Tonga OU9

● 304

[For information on amputation of fingers as sacrifices to the gods, see Category 782.]

613 King George I belonged to the Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father; his mother was of the Haa Havea; he was adopted by the [Tui ?] Haa Teiho. William Tungi belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Taimi or Salote Toafilimoeunga belongs to the lineage of her father, the Haa Fale Fisi, her mother's lineage was the Haa Vaea. Fangupo of Vavau belongs to Haa Ngata Tupu, presumably through his father. John Tupou, of Nukualofa, belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Malakai Lavulo, of Pangai, Lifuka, belongs to the Haa Ngata Motua through his father. William Finau, to that of his father, Haa Fale Fisi, his mother's was the Haa Havea. John Nuku Finaulahi belonged to his father's Haa Ngata Motua, his father's mother was of the Haa Latu Hifo. Moungatonga of Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, belongs to Haa Takalaua. Naitoka belongs to Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father. He recognizes Ahomee of the Haa Vakatolo division of this lineage as his chief, to whom he is related. Although Naitoka was born at Nukualofa in central Tongatabu, his father was born in the Hihifo (western) district of that island, which is the stronghold of the Haa Ngata Motua.

611 613 Tracing of lineage through the mother is not considered proper and is usually followed only because the connection with the mother's *haa* gives greater prestige or because the father is a foreigner. If annoyed at something, a person might shift his allegiance from his father's to his mother's chief. Tamale, the aged and erudite chief of Niutoua, quoted the proverb, "He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he mahi" (The fish is hardly likely to swim backward), meaning that in *haa* reckoning a person would follow his father rather than his mother. Needless to say, where the tracing of lineage is correctly patrilinear, the mother's *haa* is remembered.

The following are examples of matrilinear reckoning of the *haa*:

Mafi, a woman, belongs to mother's lineage Haa Takalaua; mother, a woman of Lifuka Island, Haapai; father, a man of Niuatoputapu, to which place her mother was taken upon marriage. The *haa* of father not known.

Daniel Faupula, son of John Faupula, who was a Fijian of Lakemba, belongs to the Haa Fale Fisi through his mother who belonged to the Haa Ngana division of that lineage.

John Fakailoatonga belongs to Haa Takalaua through his father Tuakilotoa.

John Feiloakitau Kaho, younger brother of the late premier Tui Vakano, states that he and his brothers belong to the Haa Havea through their mother. Their father was of the Haa Toutai Fokololo.

An adopted child belongs to the *haa* of the adoptive father. 613

597 776 825 304 Gods were connected with the various lineages and incidentally sacred animals in which the gods became incarnate. There is no belief in descent from the sacred animal. It is said that there were no badges or tattoo patterns to distinguish members of different lineages.

Agents or ambassadors (*malanga*) of certain of the great lineages seem to have resided with neighboring great lineages and acted as intermediaries in all their transactions of importance; for example:

Vahai was originally ambassador of the Haa Latu Hifo to the Haa Ngata Motua. He was invited by the Haa Ngata Motua to become a member and he accepted. Momotu, who resides with the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs at the seat of Ata, the head of this

The Tui Tonga greeted the great *fahu* (the Tamaha) by placing her 576 643
foot on his head or by touching his nose to her foot. In the presence of 644
any of his *fahu* he must abstain from eating (65, p. li). He greeted the 604
kaingaofi with the nose kiss The matapule kissed his foot. The *kainanga-* 593
fonua suffered the Tui Tonga's foot to rest on their head. This was sup- 75
posed to cure those of this class who were sick. The *tamaioeiki* were too 565
low to touch the Tui Tonga. If sick, they might be cured by having the
abdomen of the afflicted one rubbed with the bowl in which the Tui Tonga 75
washed his hands.

CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TUI TONGA

That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems 643
doubtful. That he was regarded as of semi-divine nature is certain, for the 776
Tongan belief is that he was of semi-celestial origin, the progenitor of his line being the sky god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. That he was a god living upon earth all of my informants denied. Collocott, however, records (16, p. 79) a lament or funeral piece for a deceased Tui Tonga, in which he is called a god.

My informants knew of no worship of the Tui Tonga after death, but 769
only of worship of the gods proper. The priest Kautai scoffed at the idea 793
of the Tui Tonga being either a priest or a god. He characterized him as the highest male chief and hence the most sacred male of the country.

Wilson (66), however, states that on occasion, certain deities were repre- 643
sented by certain chiefs; although the Tui Tonga is not specifically men- 622
tioned, he may be referred to in connection with either the deity Pulotu Katoa 776
or the deity Fatafehi (whom I have failed to identify). The deity Taliai
Tupou was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu. Wilson's statement follows 634
(op. cit., pp. 276, 277): 776

> Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou] is the god of Aheefo [Hihifo], which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. Futtafäihe [Fatafehi] presides over Mooa [Mua] and Doobludha [Pulotu], Cartow [Katoa] over the district of Ahoge [Hahake]; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts.

Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 78, 79) states that high respect and veneration 643
for the Tui Tonga were shown by the following observances: (a) *inasi* 585
ceremony: offering to him of first fruits, about October; (b) peculiarity 764
of his marriage ceremony; (c) peculiarity of his burial ceremony; (d) pe- 765
culiarity of mourning for his decease; (e) non-circumcision, unless he went 304
to other islands for the operation; (f) not tattooed; (g) peculiarities of 195
speech, used in regard to the Tui Tonga.

18. Aleamotua, Josiah, or Tupouifaletuipapai. Son of Mumui. Appointed in 1826, died 1845. 643
19. George I Tupou, Taufaahau I, or Maeakafa. Son of Tupoutoa. Appointed December 4, 1845, died February 18, 1893. 173 175
20. George II Tupou, Taufaahau II. Son of the Tui Pelehake George Fatafehi and son's daughter's son of George I Tupou. Appointed March 17, 1893, died April 5, 1918.
21. Charlotte Mafileo. Daughter of George II Tupou. Appointed October 9, 1918.

The published works consulted indicate a hiatus between 1820 and 1826 in which there was no Tui Kanokupolu. Actually Ulakai, paternal half-brother of Tupoutoa, was appointed at the island of Uiha, following Tupoutoa's interment. He seems never to have been formally inducted into office at the sacred *koka* tree in the Hihifo District, Tongatabu, so presumably should not be counted as a Tui Kanokupolu.

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE VARIOUS TUI KANOKUPOLU

1. Ngata. The first Tui Kanokupolu, Ngata, was one of the younger sons of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua (Moungatonga). He was half Samoan, his mother being Tohuia, daughter of the chief Ama (Kama) of Safata, Upolu. He was sent by his father, so tradition goes, to Hihifo to rule over the western division of Tongatabu and assumed the title of Tui Kanokupolu. Thomson (54, p. 307) gives 1610 as the probable date for his installation, Collocott (13, p. 180) gives 1650. Probably the earlier date is more nearly correct, for both Ngata and the twenty-eighth Tui Tonga, Tapuosi, married the daughters of Ahomee, according to the Tamaha's genealogies. There is today a hamlet in Hihifo District known as Kanokupolu, the name said to mean "flesh (or heart) of Upolu," Upolu being the second largest island of the Samoan group.

The modern lineage, Haa Ngata Motua, regards Ngata as its eponymous ancestor. [613] Certain chiefs who belong to it bear as titles the names or titles first borne by Ngata's sons.

2. Atamataila. Atamataila left no particular mark upon Tongan history. It was evidently his daughter Tuutangahunuhunu who was taken to the Tui Tonga Fakanaanaa against her wishes (26, p. 69).

3. Mataeletuapiko. As the name seems to indicate, Mataeletuapiko must have been [732] deformed, for *tuapiko* means hunchback. It is related that he prevented his ambitious son Mataelehaamea from becoming Tui Haa Takalaua. Mataeletuapiko is considered [613] the ancestor of the great modern lineage of Haa Havea, certain of the chiefs of which bear the same titles as did Mataeletuapiko's sons. The people of Toku Island (now uninhabited) were of the Haa Takalaua and were descendants of political exiles from Haamea in central Tongatabu. Their flight to Toku is said to have taken place in the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko, and presumably resulted from the attempt of his son Mataelehaamea to seize the position of Tui Haa Takalaua.

4. Mataelehaamea. The fourth Tui Kanokupolu, Mataelehaamea, was the ancestor [613] of the modern lineage Haa Ngata Tupu. His nickname Mataeleusitea refers to the lack [551] of tattooing on his "backside" (buttocks?). [304]

5. Vuna. There is some doubt as to whether Vuna, listed as fifth Tui Kanokupolu, really was appointed to that office. His name is omitted from West's list. It was either he or one of his successors of the same name whom Ulukalala II overthrew when he established himself as master of Vavau. It seems unlikely that Vuna, the son of Mataeletuapiko, was the man whom Ulukalala drove from Vavau (40, vol. 1, pp. 86, 88, 160). The Vuna (op. cit. p. 410) of Mariner's time may have been the son or grandson of the fifth Tui Kanokupolu.

6. Maafuotuitonga. Nothing seems to be on record about this ruler.

7. Tupoulahi. The seventh Tui Kanokupolu, Tupoulahi, may have held office at

only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of 291
losi leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty-stricken. 565
The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn
out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward [292]
show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*.
young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *longangatu*,
ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like [622]
garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to
be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or
above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high [304]
to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's 301
comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fastened 565
together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood [531]
(some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohibited 565
to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places [515]
only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the billiard-like [524]
game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be punished, [689]
perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him 565
on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or 574
passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume [516]
a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he [576]
would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dismount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. 262
If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. 565
Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of 223
words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, successful 689
love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring. [526]

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a commoner [196] [831]
(here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They
are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless 565
the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the 829
attitude of many Tongan commoners.

> The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. [553]
> It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen.
> X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was [729]

walking stick of a chief and to the staff of a matapule. The skill with which 622
the fly whisk was handled usually elicited remarks from surrounding gossips. 643
To use it swiftly and precisely elicited the comment: "He is an accomplished [481]
chief; long has he used the *fue*." If a man were clumsy in handling it, it
was asked: "Who is this man who shakes his *fue* like a *tua*?"

Many great chiefs or warriors were tattooed in eccentric manners to 622
distinguish them from common people. Vahai had two lines on each side, 304
the upper ones extending to the breasts. King George I Tupou is said to 565
have had the head of his penis completely covered with tattooing to show
his disregard for pain as well as to mark him peculiarly.

A headdress of feathers (*fae* or *faefae*) was worn by chiefs during times 622
of festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition. 293
721

A chiefly person or a high matapule (and the members of his household) 622
washed his hands in a special bowl (*kumete fanofano*). That of the Tui 643
Tonga (called *fakafanonga*—rendered by Baker [2] as *fafanonga*) was 565
used by him only. A commoner usually washed his hands by rubbing them 515
with the pith of the stock of the *fusi* banana.

Each chief of consequence had as part of his establishment a public 622
house, *falehau*, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors (42). Tasman 574
(30) pictures such a house as open on all sides. There were also houses for 345
the sons and daughters of chiefs and their associates (42).

The chiefs owned all the land and could take what they pleased from 622
their tenants and even kill them. On Lifuka, commoners inland could not [421]
fish on the lee side of the island. A commoner catching a large fish must [423]
give it to the chief. If he ate it he might be brought before the chief and [226]
condemned to death. To a commoner who refused to obey his order, the [687]
chief might say, "You are going to be dead," and it was not unknown for [754]
such a one, as he started away, to drop dead.

The arbitrary power and cruelty of some of the chiefs is manifest from 622
the early accounts. The Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho cut off one arm from 661
each of his cooks and Ulukalala (Mariner's patron) tortured and drowned 152
political enemies. The cruelty of Teukava, a contemporary of Tukuaho and [681]
Ulukalala, was of a different type. On one occasion he gave a feast in which
the entertainers were naked girls. At another festival (*katoanga*), he ar- [164]
ranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles
and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view. Apparently
the victims were entirely at his mercy, opposition probably meaning death.

On Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, is a cliff from which commoners jumped into the foaming surf to get bananas (*hopa*) thrown into the sea by the chiefs. The cliff is named Haamoa because of a Samoan who was killed while thus entertaining the chiefs.

Coiled baskets (*katoalu*) are made by women, but never for their own 285
use. Most of them are intended as gifts to a chief or for presents at wed- [431]
dings, funerals, or similar occasions. The basket may be used by the recipient, but many baskets, particularly openwork baskets, seem to be put to no practical use.

Wooden bowls were made by men who probably were *tufunga langafale*. 322

Tongan medical treatment is a mixture of magic and herb doctoring. 755
(See page 338.) Most of the doctors are commoners, and may be either 757
male or female (*tangata faitoo* or *fefine faitoo*). They are not appointed 759
by chiefs, but usually follow the practice of a parent, thus keeping the [565] [462]
knowledge a secret within the family. Payment (*tukutoo*) is made after a [622]
cure, in the form of a feast, during which valuable articles (*koloa*, wealth) [428]
such as tapa and mats are placed in front of the doctor. The supercisor [465]
of boys was termed *faikaukau* of *faitefe*. (See p. 188.) [304]

While barbers, according to Mariner, might be either men or women, most 305
of them are said to have been women. Women of chiefly rank could serve 462 565
as barbers for chiefs.

TITLES OF MATAPULES AND ARTISANS

The following list includes the matapule titles which I have recorded, 565
together with the origin of each title and the relationships of the incumbents 551
so far as known. The titles of artisans are included, though all of them 624
may not be strictly matapule titles. (See p. 144.) 644 463

Afeaki, matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai. 554

Afu Haa Laufuli, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu; resides in Vavau. Anciently he was matapule to the Tui Haa Takalaua and had a house at Fonuamotu, Tongatabu, the residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Afu Haa Mango, a matapule. Residence Okoa Island, Vavau.

Ahomee, a carpenter (*tufunga fale*) appointed by the chief Ahomee in whose *tofia* at Utui, Vavau, he lives. He was preceded in title by his father and his father's father. The present holder of the title is said to be a younger brother of the chief Ahomee.

Akauola, the *toutai* (navigator) of the king of Tonga. A member of the Haa Toutai. He is said to be of Samoan descent, the Samoan form of his title being Laauola. Akauola and Moala are related.

Angakehe, a matapule in the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, serving the chief Malupo of that place.

Faingaa, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Talau, Vavau Island. Perhaps this is one of the Falefa matapules, for his partner is Mapu, as with Falefa matapules.

Fakatea, ruler of Vavau displaced by Tuituiohu, the "governor" sent there by the Tui Tonga Pau. Fakatea is said to have been only a matapule.

Fakatulolo, also called Lutui and Fokololo. A matapule of the Haa Toutai, now serving the Tui Kanokupolu, but formerly serving the Tui Haa Takalaua. The first
incumbent is said to have come from the Tokelau Islands. Fokololo is the name of [291]
the garment worn by people when going into the sea. The first Fakatulolo of whom I have record was succeeded by his son Siu, who was succeeded by his daughter's son Tukia, who was succeeded by his brother Ngongo. A Fakatulolo died August 5, 1897.

and because that kind of tapa was stiff and would stand away from her 643
body. Presents were brought by all the surrounding country people and 881
presented to the Tui Tonga. The men brought kava and food. The women [515]
brought mats, tapa, baskets, wooden pillows, and other valuable articles. 643
The gift was called (both men's and women's together), *katoanga oe ngata* 881
(literally, the finishing feast), probably in reference to the termination of 431
childhood. The permanent gifts went to the Tui Tonga and his family; the food gifts were distributed among the people gathered to celebrate the occasion. There was no confinement of the girl or food tapu.

During menstruation in general, women took care of the flow by 841
means of a piece of tapa rolled up and inserted between the legs, where it was held in place merely by leg pressure. Any piece of old softened tapa would be used for such purpose.

BOYS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

The *tope*, a long lock of hair, worn by small boys over the temple was 881
cut off at puberty, perhaps on the precise occasion of "circumcision." One 302
informant stated that a boy entered manhood, when his voice changed and hair began to develop on his body and face, and that then his lock of hair was cut off. Two other informants were certain that a youth's hair was cut man fashion immediately after the tapu following "circumcision" was lifted.

Circumcision, or better supercision because of the character of the 304
operation, usually took place between the years of twelve and sixteen, but 881
is said to have been performed on boys as young as six years in age. All [643]
males were circumcised except the Tui Tonga. The adoption of Christianity [797]
seems not to have in any way curtailed the practice except that the Hebrew [178]
method has partially displaced the Tongan method.

The terms *tefe* (the vulgar word) and *kaukau* (the word of polite 304
society) are the precise designations for the Tongan operation which consists in making a longitudinal slit in the upper surface of the foreskin. The term *kamu* is also applied, but means truly to circumcise (cut around) and might be applied to a hand or a tree. It is a term of little respect and
is applied to the Hebrew form of circumcision. Both operations are now [657]
performed for the male population by the Government medical officers.

Supercision was regarded as a sign of manhood and any youth who 881
declined to be operated upon would be forbidden to eat with the other [626]
members of the household, must not touch another's food, and would be spurned by the girls. An uncircumcised person is called *kou* or *taetefe*.

Boys were usually operated on in groups called *lango mamalu*. I recall such a group in the Government hospital at Nukualofa in 1921. A chief's

A chief's
son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was 881
no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son. 622

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *failefe*. He 881
was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be 304
an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, [157]
previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire confidence.
The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but [593]
might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the [605]
community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator [604]
who was to officiate. [887]

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the [515]
sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were
brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated
outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance.
The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates.
The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called
hekeheka. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual [516]
tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to [412]
have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored
tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving
only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the
operation:

> A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.
>
> Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some
> of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled [824]
> back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kavakavaulie* [752]
> from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged
> with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between
> the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.
>
> The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one 881
> might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They 784
> could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in
> the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered [831]
> from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopeanga*) suspended
> from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything [262]
> sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating
> of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath
> for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.
>
> In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the 514
> body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, 881
> while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from
> running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a
> swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It
> was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest 776
shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present 787
Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the 793
two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

DEITIES OF NOMUKA ISLAND

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people 782
prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little 755
finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but 776
could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living 821
in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind 505
quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was
set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that 776
Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kukafatu*, 266
a shellfish which is not eaten by the people. 784
262

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

DEITIES OF UIHA ISLAND

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent
described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as 825
his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a 778
tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there 776
and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the 793
people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest 782
to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. 776
The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other 755
words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well. 605

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god 776
Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not wor- 784
shippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the 262
spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If 785
they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in an-
other direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god 825
was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests 776
of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn 793
the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the 787
god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered 763
by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of 782
cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one 304 ●
of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat"
of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely 782
consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest 776
always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, how- 793
ever, but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their 787
priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who [778]
stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the
fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa [825]
Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu. [613]

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name. 776

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he con- 776
quered Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's 346
house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole
just under the eaves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu him- 776
self; that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different 787
from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered
by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The dif-
ference between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time
and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Tou- [793]
maama. Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's
god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. 776
If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled 782
who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick
person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints [304]
placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground [516]
outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on
the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also 776
to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god 782
has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then 793
they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home. 755

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house 782
all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a
sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace [292]
of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. 778
People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were [784]
war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries,
were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoa did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish 776
form took place so recently. Seketoa had no house. He was always a fish after his 793
suicide. (26, p. 83.) 825

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be stran- 793
gled. The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In 165
those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other 776
gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The [825]
pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the
god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted 776
something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be 782
given for the demand.

kupolu. A deity named Malua Taufa was also mentioned as a patron of 776
the Tui Kanokupolu. The priest Totohoumafisi resided not in western 643
Tongatabu, but at Tatakamotonga, adjoining the Tui Tonga's capital of [793]
Lapaha. The tract upon which Taliai Tupou's temple was situated, and [778]
wherein Totohoumafisi resided, was called Kavaui. The nearby residence
of the Tui Kanokupolu at Tatakamotonga, as well as at his residence at Kolovai in the Hihifo district, was called Langakali. The patron deity of the 776
lineage Haa Fakafanua, and of the chief of that lineage who was called 613
Fakafanua, was the gecko god Tui Haa Fakafanua. He is today referred [825]
to in the inelegant phraseology of "Fakafanua's devil". His principal seat
is at Maufanga, Tongatabu, where Fakafanua resides.

The patron deity of the chief Nuku, the head of the Haa Latu Hifo, was Pulotu Katoa. His priest was Vakaahi. Mofutaetau was a patron deity of the chief Tamale who resided at Niutoua, Tongatabu. The god Taufaitahi was the patron of both Taufaahau, afterwards King George I, and of the great chief Tungi. His priest is named Kautae, the incumbent in 1921 having been appointed by the present Tungi. The chief Valu of Utulau, Tongatabu, was under the patronage of the god Kaifakaau.

None of the priests of the gods seem themselves to have actually officiated 793
at sacrifices, thus differing very markedly from the priests of the Aztec 782
gods of Mexico who were the executioners of the sacrificial victims. Sacrifice in Tonga seems always to have been made by the supplicants. In the sacrifice of neither an infant nor an older person, did the priest garrot the victim with the strangling cord; this was done by the victim's own relatives. The same was true of finger sacrifices.

The term *momoi* means to present an offering or sacrifice. The one who offers the sacrifice is called *moihu*, a term which also has the significance of mediator and as such also applies in a way to the priest.

HUMAN SACRIFICE

Amputation of a little finger was a widespread practice in the eighteenth 782
century, and was noted by Tasman (30, p. 27) also in 1643. In 1921 but 304
one person was living who had undergone this sacrifice. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, had witnessed the sacrifice of a little finger to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua.

Cook recounts (18, vol. 1, p. 222):

> A still more singular custom prevails in these isles: We observed that the greatest part of the people, both men and women, had lost one, or both their little fingers. We endeavored, but in vain, to find out the reason of this mutilation; for no one would take any pains to inform us. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, or sex; nor is it done at any certain age, as I saw those of all ages on whom the amputation had been just made; and, except some young children, we found few who had both hands per-

fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of 782
opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. 304
But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such
an advanced age, that it was hardlv possible his parents could be living. They also
burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was
equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: 782
(1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) following 165
the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or [622]
anciently perhaps burned alive, (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when [768]
the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the [764]
great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of certain [346]
temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great [396]
double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in 782
the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often consisted 782
of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior 622
rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called 165
tuputalinafi. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is 755
described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) describes [643]
others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabou,
father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's
fahu) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling
did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with
his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the
strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse
of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice [787]
was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted [763]
Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410)
a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu*.

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the 768
end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, 177
vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier 589
method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). 622
Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot [165]
say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural
feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling
cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micronesia
and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

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formerly received from Mr. Mariner. 114 When they spoke the Tonga language together, I noticed the similarity of their pronunciation and accent: when Higgins sang and exhibited some Tonga dances in presence of several of my friends, whilst Mr. Mariner also sang and beat time according to the native method *, we were struck with the accuracy of the description of these amusements in the "voyages of Captain Cook." But to be brief, however satisfied I have hitherto been with Mr. Mariner's details, I issue this second

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* To give greater effect to the scene, Mr. Mariner was [291] dressed as represented in the frontispiece, and Higgins's only apparel was a sort of circular apron, made of loose strips of matting very thickly set, and at the top plaited so as to form a band round the lower waist, (the pelvis) from which the strips hung down nearly to the knees: this was to represent the apron of the leaves of the *chi* tree, used by the natives on such occasions. He had also a wreath of artificial flowers round the head, and another round the neck. He is [304] beautifully tattowed from the hips nearly to the knees, agreeably to the custom of the Tonga people. Upon them it appears of a black colour, but upon a white man it causes the skin to resemble soft blue satin. The neatness, and I might almost say, the mathematical precision with which the pattern is executed, far surpasses the expectation of all who see it for the first time.

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The editor, Mr. Smith, in note, p. 210, remarks the different modes of spelling and pronouncing this name, employed by different travellers, and that the C and the T are scarcely to be distinguished in the pronunciation of the language. The fact is, there are few of the natives but who have lost some of their front teeth, owing to an absurd custom of knocking them out as a sacrifice, for much the same purpose as the Tonga people cut off their little fingers: the consequence is, that their pronunciation, to the ears of a foreigner, is exceedingly indistinct: they often confound the *r* and the *l*, possibly from this cause; but their indiscriminate use of the hard *c* and the *t*, Mr. Mariner is convinced, arises from this source; for instance, their word for "*England,*" and for "country *foreign,*" as given by Mr. Campbell, is "*Kaheite,*" or "*Caheite;*" but which properly should be Taheite, and is taken from the island of that name, which we call Otaheite; and why this word Taheite has been adopted to designate foreign countries generally, and England particularly, I conceive to be

000 [171] [304]

175 They remained here about two years and a
721 half, towards the end of which period they were
not contented with joining the wars of others,
but entered into one of their own, for the greater
acquirement of plunder: and their superior bravery
[484] rendered them very successful. Tired at
length with their long absence from home, they
[177] returned to Tonga; leaving their own canoes
behind them, and coming away in the better
[165] formed ones of the Fiji islands. In their passage
however they experienced a heavy gale,
during which one of the canoes, with some of
175 the choicest men, was lost. On the arrival of
the remainder at the island of Tonga, they
669 found the place in a state of insurrection; the
cause and circumstances of which are as follow:

Long before the period of Tooi Hala Fatai's
175 expedition, Toogoo Ahoo had succeeded to the
669 throne; but had held the reins of government
643 not with the complete satisfaction of his people:
175 far from it. He is reported to have been a man
of a vindictive and cruel turn of mind, taking
669 every opportunity to exert his authority; and
643 frequently in a manner not only cruel, but wanton:
644 as an instance of which, he on one occasion
304 gave orders (which were instantly obeyed,)
that twelve of his cooks, who were always in
waiting at his public ceremony of drinking cava,
should undergo the amputation of their left

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arms, merely to distinguish them from other 175
men, and for the vanity of rendering himself 669
singular by this extraordinary exercise of his 643
authority. This and many other acts of cruelty [644]
laid the groundwork for an insurrection, and a [304]
complete revolution in the affairs of Tonga.

Toobó Nuha, a great chief, and brother of 175
Finow, conceived himself to be exceedingly op- 669
pressed by the tyranny of Toogoo Ahoo; till at 643
length he determined to be free, or to die in 634
the attempt. With this view he often conversed with Finow, (at that time tributary chief of the Hapai islands,) sounding his opinion, and spurring him on to the same resolution; with the declaration, that if he would not assist him, he would manage the whole conspiracy himself. Led on partly by these persuasions, but principally by his own private views, Finow entered
into a league with Toobó Nuha. One evening 175
these two, attended by several of their usual 669
followers, waited on Toogoo Ahoo, as was now 643
and then customary, to pay their respects to 634
him, by presents of cava root, *gnatoo**, a pig, 726
and several baskets of yams; they then retired. [723]
This served as a plausible reason for their being [431]
that night in the neighbourhood of the king's residence. About midnight they again repaired

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* The material of their wearing apparel.

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though at the Fiji islands it is of much greater length, being wrapped round the body many times: one end of it passes between the legs, so as to represent, when adjusted, what in surgery is called a T bandage *. 000

Children are married by their parents (or rather betrothed to each other) when they are three or four years old. This circumstance gives rise to the complaint usually made by the natives of Tonga who visit Fiji, that they can find no woman but who is under the protection of a jealous husband. This Cow Mooala sadly complained of; and it leads us to the inference, that the women there are very faithful to their husbands. A man may have several wives; but the greatest chief, that is, she who is of the best family, is the principal wife; and in respect to her,—if her husband die first, she must be strangled on the day of his death, and afterwards buried with him. Mr. Mariner knows this fact from what hap- 563
pened at Vavaoo, a short time after the peace 768
with Toe Oómoo; and as it was not mentioned at that time, the present is a fit oppor-

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* At these islands they perform circumcision at fourteen years of age, after the Judaic method, i. e. by drawing forward the præputium, and cutting off a section. At the Tonga islands they only make a longitudinal incision of the upper part of the præputium.

[171]
[304]

634 sive to the gods. It may appear strange that
565 Voona was a greater chief than the son of the
king, yet it is a frequent occurrence, that the
king is chosen from a family not of the highest
rank, on account of his superior wisdom or military
skill, and this was the case with the present
royal family; so that the king is often
obliged to pay a certain ceremonious respect
(hereafter to be noticed) towards many other
chiefs (even little children), who are greater
nobles than he.

634 The company were now all seated, habited
in mats, waiting for the body of the deceased
764 king to be brought forth. The mourners (who
763 are always women, consisting of the female relations,
[562] widows, mistresses, and servants of the
deceased, and such other females of some rank,
who choose, out of respect, to officiate on the
occasion), were assembled in the house, and
seated round the corpse, which still lay out on
[292] the bales of *gnatoo*. They were all habited in
large, old, ragged mats, the more ragged, the
more fit for the occasion, as being more emblematical
of a spirit broken down, or, as it were,
[304] torn to pieces by grief. Their appearance was
calculated to excite pity and sorrow in the
heart of any one, whether accustomed or not to
such a scene: their eyes were swollen with the
last night's frequent flood of grief, and still

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weeping genuine tears of regret; the upper 634
part of their cheeks perfectly black, and swollen 764
so that they could hardly see, with the constant 763
blows they had inflicted on themselves 304
with their fists; and their breasts, also, were equally bruised with their own misplaced and untimely rage.

Among the chiefs and matabooles who were 634
seated on the *malái*, all those who were particu- 764
larly attached to the late king, or to his cause, 763
evinced their sorrow by a conduct, usual, in- 304
deed, among these people at the death of a re- 565
lation, or of a great chief (unless it be that of Tooitonga, or any of his family), but which, to us, may well appear barbarous in the extreme; that is to say, the custom of cutting and wounding themselves with clubs, stones, knives, or sharp shells: one at a time, or two or three together, would run into the middle of the circle, formed by the spectators, to give these proofs of their extreme sorrow for the death, and great respect for the memory of their departed friend.

The sentiments expressed by these victims of popular superstition were to the following purpose: "Finow! I know well your mind; "you have departed to Bolótoo*, and left your

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* Paradise.

634 "people under suspicion that I, or some of
764 "those about you, were unfaithful; but where
763 "is the proof of infidelity? where is a single
304 "instance of disrespect?" Then, inflicting
violent blows, and deep cuts in the head with
565 a club, stone, or knife, would again exclaim, at intervals, "Is this not a proof of my fidelity? "does this not evince loyalty and attachment "to the memory of the departed warrior?" Then, perhaps, two or three would run up, and endeavour to seize the same club, saying, with a furious tone of voice, "Behold! the land is "torn with strife! it is smitten to pieces! it is "split by revolts! how my blood boils! let us "haste and die! I no longer wish to live! your "death, Finow, shall be mine! but why did I "wish hitherto to live, it was for you alone! "it was in your service and defence, only, that "I wished to breathe! but now, alas, the "country is ruined! Peace and happiness are "at an end! your death has insured ours! "henceforth war and destruction alone can "prosper." These speeches were accompanied with a wild and frantic agitation of the body, whilst the parties cut and bruised their heads every two or three words, with the knife or club they held in their hands.

Others somewhat more calm and moderate in their grief, would parade up and down with

rather a wild and agitated step, spinning and 634
whirling the club about, striking themselves 764
with the edge of it two or three times violently 763
upon the top or back of the head*, and then, 304
suddenly stopping, and looking stedfastly at 565
the instrument, spattered with blood, exclaim, "Alas! my club, who could have said that you "would have done this kind office for me, and "have enabled me thus to evince a testimony of "my respect for Finow! Never, no, never, can "you again tear open the brains of his enemies! Alas! what a great and mighty warrior "has fallen! Oh! Finow, cease to suspect my "loyalty; be convinced of my fidelity! But "what absurdity am I talking! if I had appeared treacherous in your sight, I should "have met the fate of those numerous warriors "who have fallen victims to your just revenge: "but do not think, Finow, that I reproach "you; no! I wish only to convince you of my "innocence, for who, that has thoughts of "harming his chiefs, shall grow white-headed "like me? (an expression made use of by "some of the old men). O cruel gods! to deprive us of our father, of our only hope, for "whom alone we wished to live! We have, indeed, other chiefs, but they are only chiefs

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* They understand tolerably well how to avoid the situation of the larger arteries.

634 “in rank, and not like you, alas! great and
764 “mighty in war!”

763 Such were their sentiments and conduct on
304 this mournful occasion. Some, more violent
565 than others, cut their heads to the skull with
such strong and frequent blows, that they
caused themselves to reel, producing afterwards
634 a temporary loss of reason. It is difficult
764 to say to what length this extravagance
would have been carried, particularly by one
763 old man, if the prince had not ordered Mr.
727 Mariner to go up and take away the club from
304 him, as well as two others that were engaged
[609] at the same time. It is customary on such occasions,
when a man takes a club from another,
to use it himself in the same way about his own
head; but Mr. Mariner, being a foreigner, was
not expected to do this; he therefore went up,
and, after some hesitation and struggle, secured
the clubs, one after another, and returned with
them to his seat, when, after a while, they
were taken by others who used them in like
manner.

634 After these savage expressions of sorrow had
been continued for nearly three hours, the
764 prince, having first signified his intentions to
Voona, for reasons before stated, gave orders
that the body of his father should be taken to
[411] Felletoa to be buried. In the first place, a bale

“ this proof of our love and loyalty!” At the 634
same time they cut and bruised their own 764
heads with clubs, knives, axes, &c. [304]

The whole company now formed themselves into a single line, the women first and afterwards the men, but without any particular order as to rank, and proceeded towards Lico (or the back of the island, as they term it, because there is no opening for large canoes), for the purpose (as customary) of getting a quantity of sand in small baskets, for the use directly to be described. The guns were not 634
however taken in the procession, as the young 764
prince considered the measure now unneces- 668
sary, every thing appearing perfectly quiet, for 661
if any party had intended to revolt, they would have done it on their way from Neafoo to the grave, whilst they had clubs and spears in their possession, and not during the ceremony of burial, before which every man, according to custom, deposits his arms in the neighbouring houses. It is true they might afterwards have taken up their arms again and planned mischief, but the prince, who had always his spies about, neither perceiving nor hearing of any symptoms of disturbance, did not wish to seem fearful of revolt, which would have been the case had he taken the guns with him to the back of the island, and which he could not

634 of which the *fytoca* consists, may be strewed in
764 like manner, it being considered a great embellishment
to a grave to have it thus covered,
and is thought to appear very well from a distance,
where the clean sand may be seen on the
outside of the *fytoca;* besides which, it is the
custom, and nobody can explain the reason
why,—which is the case with several of their
customs. This being done, the temporary
house is taken to pieces, and thrown behind
the *fytoca* in the hole, out of which the earth
was originally dug to raise the mount on which
the *fytoca* stands*: in this hole also are thrown
all the baskets in which the sand was brought,
as well as the remaining quantity of earth not
used in filling up the grave. The ground
within the *fytoca* is now covered with mats,
similar to what are commonly used in the
houses, and which are made of the leaves of
634 the cocoa-nut tree. During the whole of this
765 time the company was seated on the green before
the *fytoca*, still clothed in mats, and their
287 necks strung with the leaves of the *ifi* tree: after
301 this they arose and went to their respective habitations,
302 where they shaved their heads, and
304 824 burnt their cheeks with a small lighted roll of

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* Or rather the house upon the *fytoca*, for the latter is a term given merely to the mount and the grave within it; they have several *fytocas* which have no houses on them.

tápa[*], by applying it once upon each cheek 634 bone; after which, the place was rubbed with 765 the astringent berry of the *matchi*, which occasions [281] it to bleed, and with the blood they [301] smeared about the wound, in a circular form, [302] to nearly two inches in diameter, giving themselves [304] a very unseemly appearance[†]. They repeat [824] this friction with the berry every day, making the wound bleed afresh: and the men, in the mean time, neglect to shave, and to oil themselves during the day; they do, however, at night, for the comfort which this operation affords. After having, in the first place, burnt their cheeks and shaved their heads, they built for themselves small temporary huts, for their own accommodation during the time of mourning, which lasts twenty days. The women, who [784] have become *tabooed* by touching the dead body, remain constantly in the *fytoca*, except when they want food, for which they retire to one or other of these temporary houses, to be fed as mentioned in the note, p. 141, but they sleep in

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[*] *Tápa* differs from *gnatoo* merely by its not being stamped or imprinted with any pattern.

[†] Those whose love for the deceased is very great, or who wish it to be thought so, instead of burning their cheeks in the way mentioned, rub off the cuticle by beating and rubbing their cheeks with platt wound round their hands, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut; and this is a most painful operation.

ready prepared and cooked; and also a considerable 765
quantity prepared by Finow's own household: 634
among these provisions was a good supply 574
of cava root. After the chiefs, matabooles, and 276
others, were all assembled, the provisions and
cava were served out in the usual way. During 765
this time no speech was made, nor did any particular 634
occurrence take place. The company
afterwards repaired each to his respective house, [537]
and got ready for a grand wrestling-match and [526]
entertainment of dancing the Meë too Buggi [535]
(literally, the dance, standing up with paddles.
See second volume.)

During the intervals of the dances, several 765
matabooles, warriors, and others, ran before the 634
grave, bruising and cutting their heads with 304
clubs, axes, &c., as proofs of their fidelity to
the late chief: among them, two boys, one about twelve, the other about fourteen years of age (sons of matabooles), made themselves very conspicuous in this kind of self infliction; the youngest in particular, whose father was killed in the service of the late chief, during the great revolution at Tonga, after having given his head two or three hard knocks, ran up to the grave in a fit of enthusiasm, and dashing his club with all his force against the ground, exclaimed, "Finow! why should I attempt "thus to express my love and fidelity towards

765 "you? my wish is, that the gods of Bolotoo
634 "permit me to live long enough to prove my
"fidelity to your son:" he then again raised
304 his club, and, running about, bruised and cut
his little head in so many places, that he was covered with streams of blood. This demonstration on the part of the young hero was thought very highly of by every one present, though, according to custom, nothing at that time was said in his praise; agreeably to their maxim, that praise raises a man's opinions of his own merit too high, and fills him with self-conceit. The late How's fishermen now advanced forward, to shew their love for their deceased master in the usual way; though, instead of a club or axe, each bore the paddle of a canoe, with which he beat and bruised his head at intervals, making similar exclamations to those so often related. In one respect, however, they were somewhat singular; that is, in having three arrows stuck through each cheek, in a slanting direction, so that, while their points came quite through the cheek into the mouth, the other ends went over their shoulders, and were kept in that situation by another arrow, the point of which was tied to the ends of the arrows passing over one shoulder, and the other end to those of the arrows passing over the other shoulder, so as to

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form a triangle; and with this horrible equipment they walked round the grave, beating their faces and heads, as before stated, with the paddles, or pinching up the skin of the breast, and sticking a spear quite through; all this, to prove their love and affection for the deceased chief. 765 634 [304]

After these exhibitions of cruelty were over, this day's ceremony (which altogether lasted about six hours) was finished by a grand wrestling-match, which being ended, every one retired to his respective house or occupation; and thus terminated the ceremony of burying the king of the Tonga islands. [526]

Finow's character, as a politician, at least in point of ambition and design, may vie with that of any member of more civilized society; he wanted only education and a larger field of action, to make himself a thousand times more powerful than he was. Gifted by nature with that amazing grasp of mind which seizes every thing within its reach, and then, dissatisfied with what it has obtained, is ever restless in the endeavour to obtain more, how dull and irksome must have been to him the dominion of a few islands, which he did not dare to leave to conquer others, lest he should be dispossessed of them by the treachery of chiefs, and the fickleness of an undisciplined army. His 634 157

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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small canoes to the outer islands of Hafooloo 486
How*, to watch the arrival of Toobo Toa, and 628
to return with immediate notice of this event 634
to Vavaoo, which they did as soon as they saw 765
three canoes which hove in sight. The notice [103]
being given to Finow, he sent back several of
his own canoes to meet those of Toobó Toa,
with orders that the Hapai canoes should not
be allowed to advance farther than the neighbouring islands, but that they should bring
Toobó Toa and his party along with them up
the creek to Felletoa, in the Vavaoo canoes.
This was accordingly done, and Toobo Toa,
and about sixty of his warriors, were landed
near the fortress. They were all dressed in 634
mats; their heads were shaven, and the leaves 765
of the *ifi* tree were round their necks, according [292]
to the custom at burials. They were followed [301]
by several boys bearing a few spears, arrows, [302]
and clubs. They proceeded immediately
to the grave of the late How, and after having [304]
sat before it a little time, with their heads
bowed down, Toobo Toa arose, and taking a
sharp club from one of the boys, inflicted several very severe wounds on his own head, calling
out to the deceased to witness this proof of his
love and fidelity, and declaring aloud that his

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* The name given to Vavaoo and all its surrounding little islands.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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634 sentiments towards his son were the same as
those he formerly entertained towards *him*, not-
765 withstanding that his death had occasioned
304 this seeming breach between himself and his
son; and protesting how much he wished a perfect and friendly understanding with the Vavaoo people, that he might occasionally have the opportunity of preparing the cava for young Finow; and by such and other assiduities prove his respect and loyalty towards his family: but as he supposed that the chiefs of Bolotoo had decreed otherwise, he should be contented to live at the Hapai islands, and evince his remembrance of the deceased, by sending, in Tonga-mana's canoe, the produce of his own islands as presents to his son. This speech was followed by those of several of his party, all much in the same sentiment, and then, after bruising their heads, running spears and arrows through their cheeks, thighs, and breasts, they left the grave to attend to the
634 cava of Finow. In the evening Finow, Toobó
628 Toa, and Finow Fiji, had a short conversation
651 together, when Toobó Toa expressed his wish
to be tributary to Vavaoo, notwithstanding it might still be thought politic, as long as any of Toobo Nuha's near relations were living, to keep him and his people at a distance, acknowledging that such a separation was the only

821 such as invasion, death of a great chief, arrival
of an European ship, &c. This event therefore
787 produced, as it generally does, considerable
[821] anxiety in the minds of the people; and this
anxiety was much increased by the dreams of
several women. One dreamed that during the
time of the *inachi*, Tooitonga, at the head of a
number of hotooas, attacked them, and broke
to pieces the consecrated yams; another, that
she had been at Bolotoo, and heard a decree
of Higooleo, (one of the principal hotooas,)
that Vavaoo should shortly experience some
great calamity, because the people had neglected
some particular and important ceremonies.
721 In this state of the public mind, parties
were sent to the outer islands to keep a perpetual
watch, and to bring immediate intelligence
643 of any canoe that might appear. In the course
of a little time it was remarked that Tooitonga
763 decreased considerably in size, losing flesh
every day, although otherwise in good health;
it was not long, however, before he began to
complain of weakness and loss of appetite. His
illness beginning thus to be confirmed, occasioned
his relations and attendants to have recourse
to the usual ceremonies on such melancholy
643 occasions. Accordingly every day one
763 or other of his young relations had a little
782 finger cut off, as a propitiatory offering to the

755
304

gods for the sins of the sick man[*]. These sa- 643
crifices, however, were found of no avail;— 763
greater, therefore, were soon had recourse to: 782
and accordingly three or four children were 755
strangled, at different times, in the manner [304]
which has already been related; and invoca-
tions were made to the deities at *fytocas*, con-
secrated houses, and in the persons of the
priests, but still without effect, for the gods
were deaf to their entreaties; and the illness of
the sacred chief grew every day more alarming.
As a last resource, therefore, to excite the com- 643
passion of the deities, they carried the emaci- 763
ated person of Tooitonga to the place where 782
his provisions were accustomed to be cooked[†];

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[*] Nothing is more common in these islands than the sacrifice of a little finger on occasion of the illness of a superior relation: insomuch, that there is scarcely a grown-up person (unless a very great chief, who can have but few superior relations) but who has lost the little finger of both hands. Nor is there ever any dispute between two persons with a view to get exempt from this ceremony; on the contrary, Mr. Mariner has witnessed a violent contest between two children of five years of age, each claiming the favour of having the ceremony performed on him, so little do they fear the pain of the operation: the pain indeed is but very trifling, from the mode, probably, in which it is performed, which will be fully described in another place.

[†] It must be recollected that this is an act of great humility, that the high and sacred chief of Tonga should resort to the place where his victuals are cooked. See the account of the death of Finow, p. 368.

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eyes flashed with the fire of rage;—directing 634
them full on Mr. Mariner, he cursed him with 765
the most bitter curse, "strike your god!"— 727
and, rising from the ground, he demanded 827
why he came there?—to which he answered, 777
"Your father would not have asked me that "question; and I am surprised that you are "so much unlike him, as to believe in such superstitious nonsense." This was too much for him to bear, particularly before so many of his men; and snatching up a club that lay near him, he would have instantly despatched him, if some of the men present had not pushed Mr. Mariner out of the house, while the rest held Finow. Upon this the former wished him good bye*—said that if he wanted him he might send for him, adding, that he did not before know that his presence was so disagreeable. Several men then came out of the house, and hurried Mr. Mariner away, lest Finow, before his passion had time to cool, should pursue him, and effect some desperate revenge: he retired, therefore, to a house near the grave.
Shortly after, Finow having consulted with his [609]
men upon the subject of Mr. Mariner's sneez- [304]
ing, resolved that, as he was a foreigner, and

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who had a superior mind, could not efface from it the depth of the impression.

* The expression answering to this in the Tonga language [192]
is *bea ger nofo*, (and you remain,) and is a phrase always used in taking leave of any one.

634 had different gods, his sneezing was not to be
765 considered of any consequence: they then proceeded
727 to the grave to perform the ceremony
of head-breaking, when Finow and all his men,
827 inspired with enthusiasm, cut and bruised their
777 heads in a shocking manner; Finow in particular,
[609] not contented with the usual instruments,
[304] made use of a saw, the teeth of which he struck
against his skull with such vehemence and goodwill,
that he staggered as he went home with
loss of blood. These scenes need not be further
described; we have already had enough of
them.

Mr. Mariner, immediately after this, proceeded
634 to his plantation, resolving to remain
727 there, and see how long Finow would be contented
without his company. This conduct,
according to the manners and customs of Europeans,
634 appears extremely haughty, arrogant,
727 and presumptuous: for although Finow, in this
576 instance, was undoubtedly much to blame in
putting himself in such a violent rage, and Mr. Mariner in danger of his life, on the occasion of an accident which might so easily have happened, and might have been so difficult to avoid, yet the latter being so much the inferior, we might suppose it to be his duty first to ask pardon for the offence so unintentionally committed: but this plan would be far from pro-

4. Peculiarity of the mourning for his de- 643
cease. 796

5. Tooitonga is not circumcised, as all the 644
other men are, unless he goes to foreign islands [765
to undergo this ceremony; nor is he tattowed. 304]

6. Peculiarities of speech, used in regard to [192
Tooitonga; for instance, if the king or any chief 195]
but Tooitonga be sick, they say he is *ténga tángi*, but Tooitonga being sick, he is said to be *boolobhi:* so with many other words that are used exclusively for him, and which will be noticed hereafter.

These things are mentioned in this place, 643
merely to afford an idea of the high veneration in which Tooitonga is held; for to whom but the greatest personage can such peculiarities belong? Notwithstanding his high rank, however, he has comparatively but very little absolute power, which extends in a direct and positive manner only to his own family and attendants: as to his property, he has somewhat more than the generality of the nobles, but much less than the king, who by his arbitrary sovereignty can lay claim to almost any thing.

Thus all that can be said in this place of Tooitonga is, that he is by far the greatest *Egi*, having the credit of a high divine original, and that all respect and veneration is therefore due to him.

make incisions nearly in the course of the 752 muscles, or, at least, parallel with the limb.

The amputation of a limb is an operation 752 very seldom performed; nevertheless it has 304 been done in at least twelve individuals. Mr. [649] Mariner seeing one day a man without an arm, curiosity led him to enquire how it happened, and found that he had been one of the twelve principal cooks of Toogoo Ahoo, the tyrant of Tonga, and had submitted to the amputation of his left arm, under the circumstances related Vol. I. p. 70. The mode in which this operation was performed was similar to that of *tootoonima*, described Vol. II. p. 210, only that a large heavy axe was used for the purpose. The bleeding was not so profuse as might be imagined, owing, no doubt, to the bluntness of the instrument and violence of the blow. This stump appeared to Mr. Mariner to be a very good one; the arm was taken off about two inches above the elbow. Ten were stated to have done very well; of the remaining two, one died of excessive hæmorrhage, and the other of mortification. There was also a man living at 752 the island of Vavaoo who had lost a leg in consequence 164 of the bite of a shark, which is not a very uncommon accident; but there was something unusual in this man's particular case: his leg was not bitten off, but the flesh was almost

752 completely torn away from about five inches [164] below the knee down to the foot, leaving the tibia and fibula greatly exposed, and the foot much mangled: he was one of those who chose to perform his own operations; with persevering industry, therefore, he sawed nearly through the two bones with a shell, renewing his tedious and painful task every day till he had nearly accomplished it, and then completed the separation by a sudden blow with a stone! The stump never healed. Mr. Mariner had this account from the man himself and many others.

304 752 *Téfe*, or the operation of circumcision, is thus performed: a narrow slip of wood, of a convenient size, being wrapped round with *gnatoo*, is introduced under the præputium, along the back of which a longitudinal incision is then made to the extent of about half an inch, either with bamboo or shell (the latter is preferred); this incision is carried through the outer fold, and the beginning of the inner fold, the remainder of the latter being afterwards torn open with the fingers: the end of the penis is then wrapped up in the leaf of a tree called *gnatái*, and is secured with a bandage: the boy is not allowed to bathe for three days: [171] the leaf is renewed once or twice a day. At the Fiji islands this operation is performed by

amputating a portion of the præputium, according 304
to the Jewish rite. 752

The operation of the *ta tattow*, or puncturing [171]
the skin, and marking it with certain configurations,
though it is not properly surgical, 304
yet we mention it here, as it is very apt to produce
enlargements of the inguinal and axillary
glands. The instrument used for the purpose [413]
of this operation somewhat resembles a small [237]
tooth comb: they have several kinds, of different
degrees of breadth, from six up to fifty or sixty teeth: they are made of the bone of the wing of the wild duck. Being dipped in a mixture of soot and water, the outline of the *tattów* is first marked off before the operator begins to puncture, which he afterwards does by striking in the points of the instrument with a small stick cut out of a green branch of the cocoa-nut tree: when the skin begins to bleed, which it quickly does, the operator occasionally washes off the blood with cold water, and repeatedly goes over the same places: as this is a very painful process, but a small portion of it is done at once, giving the patient (who may justly be so called) intervals of three or four days rest, so that it is frequently two months before it is completely finished. The parts tattowed are from within two inches of the knees up to about three inches above the umbilicus: there are certain patterns or forms of

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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304 the *tattôw*, known by distinct names, and the individual may choose which he likes. On their brown skins the tattow has a black appearance, on the skin of an European a fine blue appearance. This operation causes that portion of the skin on which it is performed to remain permanently thicker. During the time that it is performed, but sometimes not for two or three months afterwards, swellings of the inguinal glands take place, and which almost always suppurate: sometimes they are opened with a shell before they point, which is considered the best treatment; at other times they are allowed to take their course. We need not wonder at the absorbents becoming so much affected when we consider the extent of surface which is subjected to this painful operation; even the glans penis and the verge of the anus do not escape. It is considered very unmanly not to be tattowed, so that there is nobody but what submits to it as soon as he is grown up.
[562] The women are not subjected to it, though a few of them choose to have some marks on the inside of their fingers. The men would think it very indecent not to be tattowed, because though in battle they wear nothing but the *mahi*, they appear by this means to be dressed, without having the incumbrance of clothing*.

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* I have seen two instances of the Tonga tattów, in Jeremiah Higgins, and in Thomas Dawson, both of the Port au

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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It is a curious circumstance, that at the Fiji islands, the men, on the contrary, are not tattowed, but the women are. The operation is managed by their own sex, though by no means to that extent to which it is performed on the Tonga men, contenting themselves chiefly with having it done on the nates in form of a large circular patch, though sometimes in that of a crescent; and most of them have it also done on the labia pudendi, consisting of one line of dots on each side, just within the verge of the external labia. 304 171

We cannot with certainty say that the glandular ulcerations above alluded to are always produced by the tattów, though in all likelihood, when it has recently been performed, it is the exciting cause; but the people are very subject to scrofulous indurations, glandular enlargements, and ulcers: they call the disease *cahi;* the parts affected are the groins, axillæ, and neck; though many other parts of the body are also liable to ulcers, which they call *pálla*. These diseases sometimes run on to such an extent, and assume such appearances, that we believe some travellers have mistaken them for lues venerea. It is certain that some indi- 164

Prince. The beauty and neatness of the execution far exceeded my expectations. It may best be compared to a pair of blue satin small-clothes very tastefully configured.

342 ground, being raised about a foot, is beaten
352 down hard, and covered with leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, dried grass, or leaves of the ifi tree: over this is laid a bleached matting, made of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.
342 The house consists, as it were, but of one
353 apartment, but which is subdivided occasionally by screens about six or eight feet high. In case of rain, or at night, if the weather is cool, they let down a sort of blind, which is attached to the eaves of the open sides of the house: these blinds are made of long mats, about six inches in width, one above another, and rather overlapping, and are so contrived as to draw up by means of strings, like our Venetian blinds, and are then concealed just within the eaves. The common houses have not these blinds, but, in place of them, a few mats hung up as occasion may require.

304 Ta tattów, striking the tattow. This
305 operation has already been described in the last
643 chapter, and nothing farther is here to be said,
648 except that Tooitonga is never tattowed at the Tonga islands; for it is not considered respectful to put so high a chief to so much pain, and if, therefore, he wishes to undergo this operation, he must visit Hamoa, (the Navigator's islands), for that purpose.

322 Tongi acó'w, club carving or engraving.
531

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 826 **407. Lahilahi a ngavaivai:** A weak man is big, or the bigness of a weak man.

Big fleshy people have not the strength and endurance of those of lean wiry build. The companion phrase is *"Jiijii a pakiji,"* which indicates the tough endurance of the lean wiry man. (See No. 406.)

PHYSICAL DEFECTS

539 304 782 **408. Fafa he ho nima ku:** Stroke that with your stumpy hand.

Nima ku, that is a hand of which a finger has been mutilated by the amputation of a joint, is used familiarly for *nima,* hand. Before the introduction of Christianity such mutilation was extremely frequent, as finger joints were commonly sacrificed to the various gods. The expression is used by one who has done something that should prove gratifying to another; much as English speaking people say, "Well, what do you think of that?" The literal idea is that of fondling, caressing, with the hand, as though one should say "There's a deed, or a thing, of which you might well be fond."

409. Tonu a ulu-ku: Correctness of mutilated.

Refers directly to the customary mutilation of the hand by cutting off the top of the finger in sacrifice. A person with a hand thus disfigured might be very skillful in dances, many of which consist largely of motions of the hands, but the mutilation would to some extent mar the charm. So generally of that which is done all right, but is spoiled by some defect. [183]

539 827 **410. Kui lohiaki a:** A shortsighted man pretending to have good sight.

The shortsighted man may try to conceal his defect by pretending to see things that he is unable to distinguish clearly.

539 515 302 386 **411. Hange ha uku ha tula:** Like a bald man washing his head.

A bald man needs but a very thin mixture of lime or clay and water to cleanse his scanty locks. So a weak, watery decoction of *koka* (coloring matter for the native cloth), or of some other mixture, is compared to the head wash of a bald man.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 302 [137] **412. Aofanga tuku:** Head bound for hair burning.

The words used are chiefly. The place of a hair cut was taken in former times by a hair burn. In one method the lower part of the head was bound round with a green leaf of the *ii* (*Cordyline terminalis*) and then the hair singed off the top. This phrase means literally the leaf for the hair-burning, and is said to indicate that the leaf is ready adjusted for the process to begin. When the leaf is bound round there is no other preparation to make, everything is ready, and thence the expression has come to denote final, last.

The results summarized in Tables II and III show that the Tongans are 141 among the tallest groups of mankind. The men average 173 centimeters or about 5 feet 8 inches in height. On the average the women are 10 centimeters, or 4 inches, shorter. The head is both long and broad yielding an average index of 81.1 for the men and 81.6 for the women. There is no assurance, however, that these are the natural diameters of the Tongan head. In the skeletal material brought back by Gifford and McKern, seven crania were in a fair state of preservation. With the single exception of one cranium of a young child all of these crania [304] showed a moderate to a pronounced degree of occipital flattening accompanied by marked asymmetry, pointing clearly to the fact that they had been artificially deformed. The cranial length-breadth indices were 82.7, 84.5, 86.0, 86.0, 88.2, and 93.7. These average 86.8.

At my request inquiries were made by Gifford and McKern as to the prevalence 304 and methods of head deformation. The information shows that the Tongans [126] in the past and to some extent at the present time shape the heads of children, but the description of the methods employed throws no light on the deformation seen in the crania. According to several informants the child was laid on a piece of tapa with the top of its head placed against a heavy block of squared wood, the pressure tending to flatten the top of the cranium. The deformation described above is decidedly not of this type. Since this procedure is said to have been continued for one month only, its effect may be considered as negligible. It is difficult to understand how it would have any appreciable effect even if continued indefinitely, since the amount of pressure involved must have been very slight.

In the Tongan skeletal material that I examined, the tops of the crania show no evidences of flattening. The deformation on these Tongan crania is very similar to that observed in the crania of many groups of Indians in the southwestern United States. Occipital flattening is usually thought to be accidental—at least in origin. When the effect of it was once recognized, conscious effort may have been made in certain groups to duplicate by artificial means the results obtained by accident. The hard beds and wooden pillows that are still in use among the [513] Tongans suggest a possible explanation of the occipital flattening, as it is known that a certain amount of deformation or flattening is easily brought about by hard pillows, particularly in persons who are naturally short headed. Examples of such accidental flattening of the occiput are numerous among the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. The only difficulty involved in this explanation is to account for the difference between the degree of deformation found in the living series and that in the cranial series. It is known that the crania are not modern. The average 304 length-breadth index of these crania is nearly 6 points higher than the same index 141 in the living. On the whole, while the implication is that deformation is not so prevalent at present as in the past, it seems better to base no generalization on the

11: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

304 form of the head. Directly or indirectly, minimum frontal diameter, transverse
141 fronto-parietal index and cephalo-facial index would also be somewhat altered in
persons with deformed occiputs. On account of the very close correspondence of
Tongans and Samoans in cephalic index it is obvious that this caution should be
extended to the Samoan data[8] as well.

141 The transverse and vertical diameters of the Tongan face and its component
parts are so large that the face and nose may both well be described as massive.
[142] The skin is a medium yellowish-brown where it is unexposed to wind and sun.

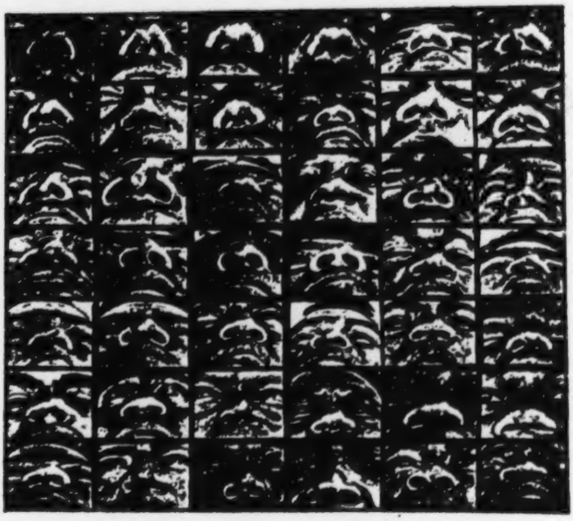

Figure 2. Tongan nostrils arranged roughly according to the orientation of the axes. Photographs by Gifford and McKern.

142 Exposed parts of the skin of a few of the persons were a very dark chocolate-brown. The hair may be described as black, of medium coarseness, and either straight or slightly waved. The beard is moderately developed and the amount of body-hair on the chest, arms, and legs may also be described as somewhat below the average. The eyes are dark brown in color and a considerable amount of conjunctival pigment is normal. The epicanthic eye fold is typically absent, but nearly 30 per cent showed what is termed a "trace" of this fold, and a few marked examples of it were noted.

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[8] B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 2, 1921.

were strangled at the Fiatooka, or burying place, at 175
the time his body was deposited there. The Fiatoo- 766
ka was a large inclosed space with a lofty funeral 768
pile in the middle, of a pyramidical form, round [764]
which, the bodies of the Chiefs had been laid for [349]
ages past, in a solemn range of rude dignity. The
space round the tomb was on this occasion a palæs- 175
tra for savage gladiators. Hundreds ran about it, 766
with ferocious emulation, to signalize their grief for 765
the venerated chief, or their contempt of pain and 304
death, by inflicting on themselves the most ghastly
wounds, and exhibiting spectacles of the greatest
horror. Thousands, ere the period of mourning was
over, fought with each other, and cut themselves
with sharp instruments, to testify by bloody scars,
their sorrow for their beloved Moomooe,

It was an awful scene indeed! Night after night, [534]
we heard for some weeks, the horrid sound of the
conch-shell, rousing these deluded creatures to these dreadful rites of mourning for the dead; and shrieks, and clashing arms, and the rushing and violence of the multitude, re-echoed round our abode, and rendered it a scene of continual horror and alarm.

At length these shocking ceremonies ceased, and 175
all the chiefs assembled for the purpose of electing 643
a supreme.

Toogahowe, who by his superior prowess in the [662]
field, had awed the neighbouring Islands as well as
Tongataboo, and had placed his Father Moomooe

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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175 ous to return hither, to celebrate his success in a
669 plenteous and lengthened festival. Provisions there-
727 fore were plentifully accumulated, by the time he
arrived. Four hundred baked hogs were brought to the spot, and round a stake driven into the ground were piled ten or twelve fat hogs of the weight of eighteen or twenty stone. The banquet was prepared and conducted with much form and ceremony.

Loogolala and his chiefs sat in all the dignity of savage pride, giving out their domineering commands, and drove the natives about like so many dogs. Here they stayed for a month or six weeks, eating and drinking, feasting and dancing, and making excursions of pleasure to the surrounding islands, where they were entertained in the same manner. After exhausting the provisions of these islands, they returned to the Arbai isles, where they continued some time, that Tongataboo might recruit its losses and accumulate provisions against their return.
175 Whilst going from place to place, on these triumph-
799 ant excursions of pleasure, I was frequently expos-
304 ed to the reflections and sarcasms of the young peo-
[515] ple, especially in the hour of bathing, which gene-
rally recurred three times every day, for being destitute of that cuticle vesture, which modesty has taught the South-Sea islanders to throw around them as an excellent imitation and substitute for garments; I mean the Tatoo. On these occasions, they would raise a shout of merriment and call me by opprobri-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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ous epithets, such as Ouchedair, &c. I was at length 175
determined no longer to be singular and the object 797
of ridicule. While at Vavou therefore I consented
to be tatooed. But the pain was so great, that I 304
could not endure to go on with the operation, till I came to reside at Arbai, and superintended Loogolala's brother's estate (as will be related in its place). Then I summoned up resolution to have the tatooing finished by a professed operator in the neighbourhood. It was performed only every third day, the pain being so exhausting, and the large tumours which immediately follow not subsiding before that time. When it was completed I was very much admired by the natives, as the European skin displays the blue colour, and the ornaments of the tatooing to very great advantage: I looked indeed very gay in this new fancy covering.

The tatooing is used as much for the sake of decorum as ornament, and it certainly bears so admirable a resemblance to a close dress that it might in some circumstances be taken for it. When I arrived in America, a case of this kind occurred with respect to myself while at New-York. I had engaged myself to a vessel which was going to India, and having fatigued myself during the day in assisting in the lading of her, I went on shore in the evening and stopped and plunged into the water to refresh myself with bathing. Some people not far off, who saw me enter the water, supposing that I was

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 swimming in trowsers, came near to look at me. I remained in the water till they had walked away,
797 but a boy about fifteen stayed till I came out: he
804 looked at me with great surprise, as though he could not believe his senses, and upon coming nearer, exclaimed, "I thought you had got some clothes on. Others upon hearing him began to approach, and had I not put on my clothes, their curiosity also, it is probable, would have discovered equal cause for surprise.

I recollect there was a chief at Tonga who could
175 not endure the pain of tatooing, but so impressed
304 he appeared with the absolute necessity of it, as a decent covering, that he never was seen without his garment: but the rest of the natives had no delicacy in that respect on account of the seeming vail which the tatoo spreads over them.

175 Amongst the tribes of the Friendly Islands, the advantage of being a chief is, a life of ease and in-
565 dulgence, and the subserviency of all the inferior orders to his will and pleasure. While the chief revels in plenty, the lower classes are often pining for want: and after all the exactions that are made from them, they are treated by those who have the superiority, with harshness, contempt, and brutality, as though they existed merely for the purpose of drudging for their support and luxury.

Yet, amid the loud demands that have been made in these times of disorganization, for equality and re-

881 that it is *tapu* to work, to cook, or to wash clothes during
the menstrual period. The mother also explains that the girl
[867] must from now onward observe all the *tapu* associated with
[593] the attitudes of respect *(fakaapaapa)* which the girl henceforward
[602] observes in regard to her brothers.[21]

Between the ages of ten and twelve the boy is supercised.
881 If the operator should be a native medicine man the
304 occasion is marked with a small feast and a gift to the expert.
178 Today, however, it is general custom in the village to send the
743 boy to the hospital in Neiafu where a free operation is performed
759 by the Tongan native practitioner. There is little
feasting or gift-giving. It is still very necessary for a boy to
be operated upon if he is not to suffer shame for the rest of
his life as one abnormal and despised. But with the ease and
simplicity of the hospital operation, there has been a sort of
178 shifting of responsibility for the whole matter onto the shoulders
881 of the white doctor. The operation has, therefore, become
304 a routine affair with no connected overtones of emotion
152 or anxiety on the part of the parents of the boy. With the
574 passing of anxiety there has also passed any felt necessity
431

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881 [21] There is great change here as compared with ancient practice.
178 Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 186) notes that chiefly families still observe
304 old-time ceremonial connected with a girl's first menstruation. He
adds: "These observances were formerly general." The note in the
text concerning male supercision should also be compared with Gifford's
account (*Tongan Society*, pp. 187-189) of boys' puberty-observances.
Formerly the operation was technically a matter of supercision; today
this is still the common practice. After this paper was completed Dr.
Lopdell sent us the following note which amplifies the material given
in the text. Dr. Lopdell writes: Vava'u practice is pretty general
throughout Tonga. Child, or rather infant, superincision is practically
unknown. Boys come to the hospital in Neiafu when between the ages
of nine and twelve years; ten years is an average age. There are a few
native medicine men who operate in the villages but I think that it is
safe to say that the medical department does about ninety per cent. of
the operations. Often a gang of boys, say ten to twenty boys of about
the same age and from the same village, come to the hospital on the
same day. The boys make a colourful cutter load of human freight if
they come, dressed in their best clothes, from one of the distant villages
far down Vava'u harbour. The operation is usually performed by one
of the hospital boys. It consists of a simple scissors cut along the dorsal
line of the prepuce. A local anaesthetic is given. On returning to the
[574] village a small feast may be held but there is no fuss or bother made
about the operation.

to mark what is now a non-critical period by feasting and 881
gift-giving. Presumably the boy may still suffer from 304
anxiety over the operation, but he is after all, only a boy. 178
Neither parents nor village see any necessity to concern 152
themselves greatly with the emotions of a mere boy when 574
they are experienced out of sight and out of sound in a distant 431
hospital. The situation has obviously changed greatly from
the time when surgery was carried out in the village without
the aid of anaesthetics, sterile instruments and specific
operator's skill.

COURTSHIP

The average village man's idea of a woman who is 832
beautiful emphasises first of all the fact that she should be
fat in every part of her body. Her eyes should be far apart.
There should be a slight prognathism and everted lips. Skin
should be a medium brown, not too fair and not too dark.
The feet should be large and well formed. Conversely, a
woman whose skin is very dark or one whose bust is large
but whose buttocks and feet are small, is looked upon with
small favour by the idealists. Naturally, few women in
Pangai measure up to the ideal. One who chooses a mate [584]
or begins a courtship must overlook much and weigh the
preferential value of skin colour against size of buttocks or
feet.

The mother exercises considerable supervision over her 593
nubile daughter. An industrious girl, well chaperoned, is 882
likely to make a good marriage. An unchaperoned girl who 584
shows signs of laziness, who is on a familiar joking-relation-
ship with many men, or who visits much about the village 156
instead of staying home quietly working, may be attractive
to some young men, but the elders see to it that no easy
marriage will be arranged. The model mother will not allow
her daughter to walk unescorted at night. Our housegirl's
home was barely 200 feet from our house, but the girl's
mother would always send a younger sister or brother to
escort the girl home after dark from one house to the other.

It is difficult to judge whether pre-marital sex-relations 836
are common among the young people of the village. All
informants were positive that with the exception of two
doubtful cases, all the young unmarried girls in the village

177 these clothes at any other time. Clothing therefore is a
178 blend of old and new, but when materials and clothing-styles
291 are both considered, it is again difficult to say in any simple
292 fashion whether current practice is more nearly related to
aboriginal or European custom.

Finally, to take but one more example, there has been
178 in the field of housing a transfer of both form and materials.
177 In the village today one sees frame houses with iron roofs
342 of European form, frame houses with iron roofs of Tongan
form, and thatched houses of aboriginal form and materials.
This refers only to dwelling- and sleep-houses. Separate
[343] cook-houses are uniformly of Tongan materials and form,
while the privies are uniformly frame structures of European
form. Is the present housing of the villager more European
than Tongan as regards both form and materials? Again
it is hard to give a simple answer.

177 Village attitudes in regard to both clothing and housing
may perhaps be best understood partly as an expression of a
178 substitution of new for old which, to use Parsons' phrase,
gives "an old habit of mind a new expression" or uses
"something new in accordance with something old."[34]

177 When we consider social and economic organization,
answers are equally hard. At one end of the scale, treat-
178 ment of disease is almost purely in terms of Tongan concepts
757 and materials with such exception, for instance, as in the
control of a typhoid outbreak when quarantine is enforced
[304] and European medical treatment often welcome, or in such
[743] surgical practice as the supercision of adolescent boys,
where the tendency in the village is to expect such surgery
to be carried out at the hospital in Neiafu. At the other end
177 of the scale might be placed religion, where Christianity has
178 been taken over lock, stock, and barrel, and there are
relatively few survivals of either knowledge or belief in
771 aboriginal religious forms. A Christian morality based on
Biblical teaching has also become the accepted morality of
the community.

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[113] [34] See Parsons, E. C., *Mitla, Town of the Souls*, Chicago, 1936, for a consideration of the role of this factor, among others, in culture-contact. Herskovits, M. J. has a brief but valuable discussion of this and other studies of acculturation in his book, *Acculturation*, New York, 1938.

sage on to our *matabule*, who shouted a mangled version 643
of it across the king to the fellow sitting on his Majesty's 644
276
right hand. This functionary as usual shouted "*Koe!*" 574
to the sea-birds circling over the reef. My letter was 576
then passed to the king, who laid it down without looking
at it.

Meanwhile the second brew was being prepared, and [521]
although the formalities were sufficiently relaxed to permit
conversation, still the king stared straight before him,
speaking to no one, and seeming not to hear the conversation
which was carried on at speaking-trumpet pitch
out of compliment to his deafness. As soon as the cup [782]
had gone round again he rose without any warning, [304]
passed behind Fatafehi, and stooping over me, extended
three fingers of his right hand in welcome, not from any
motive of *hauteur*, but because the fourth finger had been
sacrificed in his old heathen days to the *manes* of a
deceased relative. Then without a word he walked off,
carrying rather than leaning on his staff for all his ninety
years, and disappeared into the long native house where
he was staying. The kava-party at once broke up and
went their several ways; and Tukuaho emerged from his
humble seat behind the bowl, and led us to a large but
ruinous house that had once been the king's palace. This 645
was to be our quarters during our visit. Fatafehi left us
here to go to Government House and attend to his
executive duties. A glance at that building—we could [344]
see it from our verandah—convinced me that whoever
may have squandered the public funds, the Governor of
Haapai was as guiltless as the Minister of Finance, whose
house I had seen in Nukualofa.

mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the 773
wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern
our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by
bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua.

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. 304
Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home [178]
growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still [177]
extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that
tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have
been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear 304
totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird 771
called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his 825
worship. Something more will be said later about the individual
gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of
tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them.
Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest.
In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose 304
their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, 531
and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most
of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain 555
whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities 776
whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative
is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a 778
particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an 825
informant able to supplement his previous information. There are [793]
also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was
sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time
to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the
gaps in the tradition.

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather 124
about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my
informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness, and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters.

god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no 776
reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty [825]
little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in
the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity [825]
manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele. [793]

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ae-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in 776
his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which
becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, 778
valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, [252]
and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and [764]
the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings.
These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant [782]
volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The
priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not 776
clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such 755
soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice.
The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of [757]
mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and
use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground 776
on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui
(The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of 349
Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also
connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people 776
knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god. 825

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to
find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this [643]
bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already
mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat. [304]

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this
connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The 825
home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he 763
flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an
indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would
be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this [164]
bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous
cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the [165]
nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled
with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic
influenza.

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

The rank of the children of the various wives of a chief depended
595 on that of their mothers. In the case of two wives of equal rank the
622 elder normally took precedence of the younger, and her children
over those of the younger woman. A wife might so win her
husband's affections as to cause him to grant precedence to her
children over those of an elder woman of equal rank, but favouritism
could scarcely avail to elevate the children of a specially beloved wife
above those of a higher chieftainess. A special term was used for
the principal wife.

831 Many stories are told of handsome men, called *mana'ia*, possessed
832 of *mana*, supernatural power, whose charms were irresistible to the
[778] ladies. The patron of these boudoir knights was Jinilau, the god of
[776] beauty, whose gift their handsome persons were, and who were
[585] themselves sometimes even called Jinilau. The custom obtained, and
[554] is more or less perpetuated in modern marriages, for a maiden to
present a particular mat to the man to whom she gave her virgin
love, and the prestige of the *mana'ia* was in proportion to the number
of these trophies he had won.

The *mana'ia* was prepared for his amorous calling with the
carefulness of an aspirant to a learned profession or an athletic
championship. His friends and relatives, male and female, omitted
no attention that should increase his attractiveness. All that was
demanded of him was that he should look well, and fascinate the
[554] ladies. High rank, though valued, was not indispensable; but it is
[565] obviously improbable that the profession of lover could have been
open to men of very humble birth. Even personal courage and
831 prowess were not essential—merely good looks. The name and fame
832 of notable male beauties are perpetuated in tale and proverb, and
538 extraordinary sway over ladies' hearts is ascribed to them. It is
related that a chieftainess was about to be married to a great lord;
the nuptials indeed had commenced, and the guests were seated on
● [304] the first evening of the ceremonies in a house with the bride. A
specially favoured *mana'ia*, who desired the girl for himself, thrust
his hand, on which was tattooed a distinctive mark, through a hole
[584] in the thatch roof. The bride-elect, thus apprised of who awaited
her without, slipped from the house, and eloped with the *mana'ia*.
[554] I am told that the *mana'ia* had no real status in Tongan social
organisation; but that families forwarded the interests of their
handsome men merely to assist them to form advantageous connections,
and collect large quantities of mats and cloth, in which
[555] they all might share. The first holder of the great Tungi title was
called Tungi Mana'ia, and tradition ascribes his elevation to exalted
[644] rank to his personal attractiveness, but the genealogies show that
this is a mistaken notion, as in his veins flowed the highest chiefly
blood of Tonga. The present Tungi is the consort of the reigning
Queen.

wanderlust as did the ancient double-boat. The old sea 484
chants of the Tongan seafarers are now largely replaced by 178
Christian hymns, but the essential idea of song in connection
with sea travel still remains.

Although the ancient sailing vessels of the Tongans 501
have all yielded before the European-type vessels, the small 177
dugout canoe with outrigger still remains in considerable 178
force.

The composition of poetry and its chanting or singing 538
by a chorus of singers is still a very popular pastime. The 533
composers turn out their product on quite short notice. On
one occasion the writer attended a picnic after the examination
of a great stone vault tomb. The bard in charge of the
singers had composed and taught them a song that fitted
the occasion and referred to the visit to the tomb on the top
of a neighbouring island.

To a slight extent woman is appearing as the theme in 177
modern Tongan poems, thus in small measure usurping the 538
place held by the scenery. This seems to be the result of
English example. The brass band is in some degree crowding 177
out the native bard. Friday night band concerts by 533
native musicians are a regular thing in Nukualofa, the [545]
capital of Tonga.

The Tongan government doctors, all Caucasians, have 304
adopted a practice which conforms with the traditional 177
ideas of the natives. This practice is supercision, an operation
related to circumcision. When performed by a European [743]
doctor, instead of a native, the operation usually takes
place at one of the government hospitals to which the
patient returns periodically for treatment. The operation
in Hebrew style (fakahebelu) is at times requested by the
boys of to-day.

Telephones have recently been installed in Nukualofa, 206
and, though primarily for the use of European residents, 177
will doubtless in time become adjuncts of the homes of
upper class Tongans. For some years past the Tongans
in the capital have been reading daily wireless dispatches
type-written in Tongan and posted at the post office.

Motion pictures have entered Tonga and become permanently 546
established in Nukualofa, where there are two [177]
theatres. The outward attitude of the Tongan audience
seems about the same as that of an audience in a small [571]

752 wound, and we therefore contented ourselves by
797 administering some needful medicine. The progress of the patient, however, was slow; and very unfavourable symptoms appeared from time to time. At length, one of H.M. ships of war arrived at the island, and, under the circumstances, we requested the surgeon to examine the wound, and give his opinion. He accordingly did so, and concluded by saying that it was a case in which no European surgeon would hesitate for an instant. The injury done was so extensive, that he considered the arm must ultimately be lost, if not the life of the patient. Mafileo, however, would not hear of amputation. The native doctors therefore continued the treatment of the case, declaring their conviction that they would save both the arm and the life of the patient. After the lapse of several months, a cure was fully effected. When we left the islands, more than two years had elapsed since the war in which Mafileo received his wound; but he was then well and hearty. Although he could not use his arm, he was saved the pain of dismemberment, and had avoided an unsightliness from which the proud native mind instinctively shrinks. The
752 Tonguese would rather die than submit to the loss
826 of a limb by amputation; although, as we have
304 seen, they are by no means nice about sacrificing a
joint or two of the fingers.

797 While upon this subject of medical Missionary effort, we may say that various English Protestant Missions abroad have been greatly indebted for aid in this department, to the Christian testimony, and benevolent liberality, of a gentleman of eminent scientific ability, who visited the Friendly Islands and Fiji, during the year 1855, in the prosecution

174 and the many religious restrictions and prohibitions
[784] connected therewith, may be easily interpreted as a
relic, much changed and corrupted, from the ceremonial observances of the Jews.

3. The great feast of the "*Inaji*," or offering of
[796] first-fruits to the gods every year, seems a custom
or religious ceremony of purely Jewish origin.

4. The same may be said of the rite of circum-
● [304] cision, which was regularly practised by them. An
uncircumcised person was considered mean and despicable; and the custom has only disappeared in recent years.

5. Every person and thing that touched a dead
[783] body was considered unclean, and remained so until
[764] after the lapse of a certain number of days.
During that allotted time, those whose duties compelled them to do the rites of burial, were not allowed to feed themselves, or to touch the food prepared by others. They were therefore carefully fed by attendants.

6. Females, after child-birth, and after other
[846] periods of infirmity, were enjoined strict separa-
[783] tion; and were subjected to ceremonial purifications.

7. The Tonguese had cities of refuge, corre-
[778] sponding to those instituted among the Jews; the
uses and regulations of which were closely akin to theirs.

8. The priestly orders and functions resembled,
[793] in some of their features, those of the Mosaic law.
The *Taula*, or priest, was supposed to become inspired by the god, as his shrine or representative, while receiving and answering the prayers and sacrifices of the worshippers. These were offered
[794] through the *Feao*, or attendant upon the Taula;

517 were comparatively harmless, but others were
obscene and demoralizing in the highest degree.
526 Boxing, club-fighting, and wrestling, were highly
popular. The proceedings were regulated by cer-
541 tain laws, for the proper observance of which
managers were appointed, and umpires to decide
upon rival claims. These matches were often
attended with serious, and even fatal results. The
spectators delighted in blows that brought blood;
and stimulated the combatants with shouts and
yells of applause.

764 The ceremonies observed on the death of any
prominent personage, were extremely barbarous.
[302] The hair was shaved, or cut close, and the face and
[304] various parts of the body cut, bruised, or burned.
Affection or respect for the deceased was estimated
by the amount of bodily pain endured. Chiefs
764 were usually interred in tombs, constructed of
554 blocks of sandstone, cut from suitable localities by
the seashore, where, at a little depth from the sur-
565 face, layers of hard and durable sandstone are
found, even on many of the coralline islands. In
several of the ancient burial-places, similar stones,
arranged in terraces, surround the whole enclosure.
Some of these are of immense size, and seem to
indicate the possession, on the part of former in-
habitants, either of greater energy than the present
764 race, or of better tools and appliances. The burial
[137] places of the Tonguese are always surrounded by
the most imposing foliage of the tropics, and placed
in sequestered spots. A mound of earth is raised,
of dimensions varying with the necessities of the
place; and, whenever a grave is opened within the
limits of this mound, it is always filled up with
beautiful white sand, and never contains more than

192 *Magumaga*, tail of a fish (with special application perhaps to the bonito).

[643] [304] → *Mahaki vala*, elephantiasis in scroto; there is a text in which it seems to be used as an expression for indecent talk (following the word *lea*, talk).

Mahi, sound of the surf (?). *Ka to 'ae mahi bea na femahui mai.*

Mahigo, occurs in one text, but is probably mis-spelling of *mehigo*, for which see Baker.

Mahofohofa, spread out.

Mahu, low crying sound.

Mahu'ia, whispered about, discussed unfavourably.

Mahunu, slightly burnt.

Maka, (lit. rock), teeth (disrespectful).

Makauka, style of tattooing in which the skin is not entirely covered with pigment, but the design is drawn with separate lines.

Makube, tilted, raised, come to the surface.

Maka kafu, covering-stone of vault

Mukali, rapidly disappearing, running off.

[524] ← *Makamiki*, game in which one player guesses in which hand his opponent is holding a piece (called *matakai)*.

Makifu, scamper.

Ma'a, a dead person. *Hoto mala*, my dead relative, funeral in which I am concerned.

Malaga, (i) journey, travel, voyage; (ii) ambassador; the Tu'i Kanokubolu, and possibly the Tu'i Tonga also, had ambassadors in the courts of other chiefs; (iii) meeting *(fono)*.

Malagalaga. plur. of *malaga*, collective term for *matabules*.

Maluhia, drunk (highest chiefly term).

[643] [304] ← *Ma'akilaki*. uncircumcised though presenting the appearance of being circumcised. This word seems to have had a peculiar history; though applied properly, and without offence, to the Tu'i Tonga, who could not be circumcised in Tonga, it was to all others an offensive and indecent word; but to-day is used in some parts of the group as a salutation to chiefs, though avoided in other parts through remembrance of its real meaning.

Malama, light, lamp (Niua Fo'ou).

Malata, ricochet (?).

Malave, wounded, hurt, choked, grieved, remembered, longed for.

Malele, high cape, promontory.

Malila, dried tobacco leaf (Manilla?).

Malili, cold (Niua Fo'ou).

Malo, (i) blossom of bread-fruit tree; (ii) loincloth of paper mulberry cloth.

* *Malo e liaki*, greeting to net-fishers.

* *Malo e maca*, greeting to shark-fishers.

* *Malo e auhia*, greeting to turtle-fishers.

Malo-kula, red waist cloth (the badge of Ha'apai in war and dance).

Malu'a, protected, covered.

Malumalu-'o-Fulilagi, lit. Shade-of-Fulilangi (possibly the name of one of the Tu'i Belehake), the name of the *ovava* tree in Alaki associated with Captain Cook's visit, and usually known as Captain Cook's tree. It fell somewhere about the year 1916.

Mamahu'a, weary (?).

Mamala, name of a tree (plentiful in Eua).

Mamohe, sound sleep.

Manava, sea-stores of food.

Manoga, peaceful.

Manogisia, fragrant, sweet-smelling.

Manogo, meaning uncertain.

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* These greetings are chiefly.

THE TUI TONGA

The Tui Tonga when travelling was frequently borne on a litter, 643
though land on which he stood, or houses into which he entered, did [493]
not become tabu and therefore unavailable to their former possessors or users. Mats and cloth which he used seem not to have returned to their former owners, but to have become the property of the Tui Tonga. Such articles he seems frequently to have passed over to his [644]
retinue. The tabus surrounding the Tui Tonga's person were of course strict. The London Missionary Society's missionaries who 643
arrived in the *Duff* in 1797 relate that the Tui Tonga going into their 302
house in western Tongatabu requested that they shave him. This [778]
ceremony of the toilette was performed, but until everything was safely finished the natives about were in the greatest trepidation lest some of the sacred hair should fall to the ground. The operation of 643
supercision could not be performed in Tonga on the Tui Tonga. He 304
had either to go without the operation or visit Samoa or Fiji for the purpose.

CEREMONIOUS SPEECH

An interesting example of the tabu surrounding the great chiefs 565
is seen in the opening of ceremonial speeches in their presence. The 537
speaker clears away, group by group, the tabus that would prevent 195
his speaking. He says "Tabu for such a one," using an expression 784
which it is exceedingly difficult to render into English, but whose real significance seems to be, "With all due regard to the tabu of So-and-so." This introductory apology having been completed the speaker will say, "It is now permissible for me to go on with my speech." There are two important sets of these tabu formulae, one [643]
for the Tui Tonga chiefs and the other for the Tui Kanokubolu, but naturally enough the practice of thus prefacing a speech is widely extended. In sermons, ordinary addresses, and in conversation, anything which the speaker feels should be introduced "saving the presence of" his auditors will be introduced with this apologetic preface. Especially is this the case when mentioning bodily infirmities to a 784
person of superior rank. A commoner would scarcely mention at all 576
a physical defect of a chief to whom he was speaking, at any rate 753
521
without the license of intimately friendly conversation, but in men- 565

538 In addition, Tongan art included oral traditions, for a vital part of the early Tongan educational system was the careful memorization and oral transmission of legends and lineages. In fact, just as important as the techniques and skills that each master craftsman passed on to his successor were the prayers, myths and geneologies which had to be imparted as well.

537 As oratory has long been an art, it is significant to note that Tongans have always been eloquent [726] people. Skilled orators were necessary for inspiring people to perform community projects and, in time of war, for exciting the zeal of warriors[4]—such as the way that the dauntless leader, Finau 'Ulukalala II, roused his soldiers' enthusiasm when he said forcefully in a speech at Vava'u: "Be brave in battle; fear not death. It is better to die fighting in the field than to live to be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lingering illness."[5]

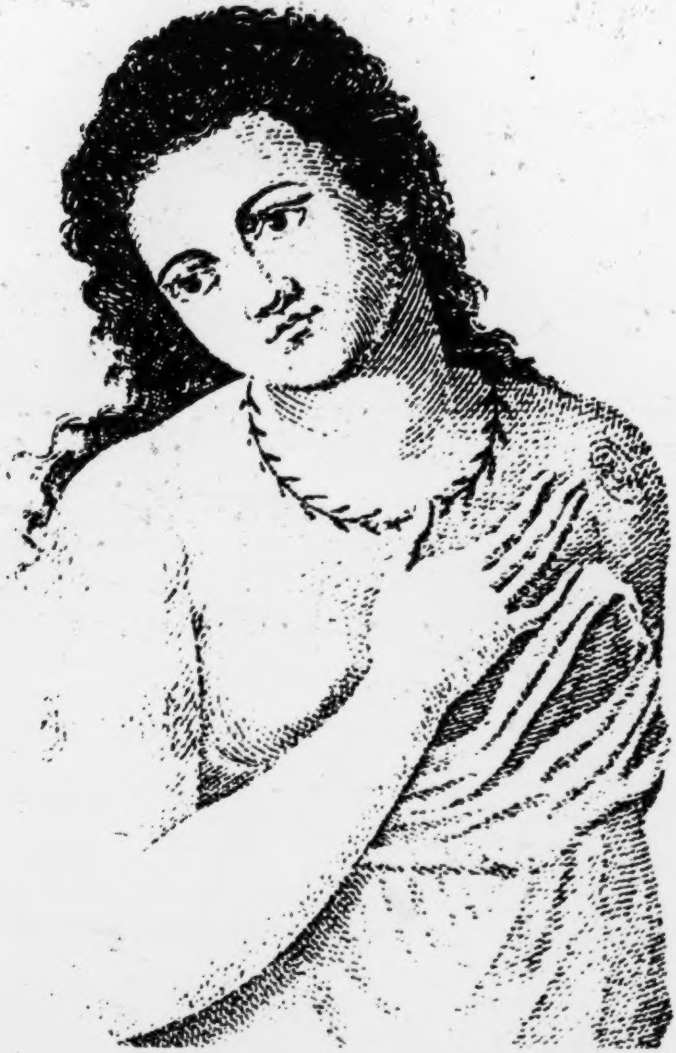
● 304 Tattooing became popular for a time in Tonga, most probably as a result of frequent contacts with [177] Samoa (where the highly-perfected art of tattooing is still practiced today). According to Mariner in the [237] early 1800's, Tongan men were elaborately tattooed from waist to knees by use of a small-tooth comb made from the wild duck's wing-bone, which was dipped in a mixture of soot and water and then tapped with a green branch to puncture the skin. The esteem with which tattooing was held was no doubt because of the intense pain which had to be borne in order for the intricate designs to be permanently imprinted on the skin. Mariner remarked: "It is considered very unmanly not to be tattowed, so that there is nobody but what submits to it as soon as he is grown up."[6] Women also, as Captain Cook had observed some years earlier, were tattooed in smaller, less extensive patterns on the [797] arms, hands and fingers. Largely due to the [178] missionaries' strong opposition to it as an evil and unhealthy practice, tattooing died out in Tonga sometime later in the 1800's.

532 177 The coming of the westerners generally had a detrimental effect upon art in Tonga. Many valuable artifacts were destroyed because they were seen as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

304



Tattooing designs on this Tongan woman's arms (1793) are characteristic of the general simplicity of tattoo patterns for women. In contrast, men in Tonga were tattooed more intricately and extensively, particularly on their trunks and thighs.

Ko e ta fakatata eni na'e fai he 1793 'o e ta tatau 'o ha fefine Tonga. Na'e lahi ange foki mo faka'ofo'ofa 'a e ngaahi ta tatau 'o e kakai tangata, 'a ia na'e fa'a ta kotoa honau konga loto pea mo honau alanga.

[p, 13-B]

643 taboos were connected with his position. Because no
644 one was allowed to touch his food or body, he was
784 often carried about on a litter, and ceremonies of
obeisance were performed towards him (e.g.
moimoi, wherein the subject knelt down and placed
the soles of the chief's feet on the subject's head,
figuratively showing in humility and respect that he
643 was beneath the monarch). Some of the things
● [304] which were peculiar to the *Tu'i Tonga* included the
[195] fact that he was neither tattooed nor circumcised as
others were, he was referred to or spoken to with a
[412] special vocabulary, he ate the meat of green
[301] coconuts with a distinctive implement (a freshly cut
[302] stick from the *toi* tree), he wore a unique type of
flower garland called the *lala heilala,* and his hair
was trimmed by being singed with a hot coal.[8]

[644] To prevent contamination of the royal line with

[p. 28-B]

[1777]

541 people and we hourly experienced it; all our care and attention did
571 not prevent them from plundering us in every quarter and that in the
most daring and insolent manner, there was hardly any thing they
685 did not attempt, and yet as the crowd was always so great I would
not allow the sentries to fire lest the innocent should suffer for the
685 guilty.[1] They once at Noon day attempted to take an anchor from off
the Discoverys waste, they had certainly succeeded if the flook had
not hooked one of the Chain plates in lowering it down the side from
which they could not disingage it by hand, and tackles were things
they were unacquainted with, or theres no doubt but they would
[825] have found one. The only act of Violence they were guilty of, was the
breaking the shoulder bone of one of our Goats, so that she died soon
after; this loss fell upon themselves, as she was one of those I intended
to leave upon the island, but this the person who did [it did] not
know.

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685
304 WEDNESDAY 18*th*. Early in the Morning of the 18th a circumstance
happened that strongly pointed out one of their customs; a man got

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541 [1] Theft, which had so often been exasperating in the islands, now, it seems, had Cook at
his wits' end. 'All the diversions and exercises of these Islanders', writes Burney (f. 204v)
571 'are performed with a natural ease and grace not to be excelled. they are very handy and
have great contrivance: some of their thefts were executed with a degree of genius, or
685 rather finesse that proved them no novices in the art of confederacy.' And King, 19 June:
'... the Sailmakers & carpenters have been all the time on shore & fully employ'd, & in
648 spight of our endeavours they lose daily their tools, or something is stolen out of the tent, &
often very audaciously, it cannot be suppos'd but that amongst 10,000 people surrounding
us, all idle, but that many must be worthless.' They stole anything, and Cook applied the
lash as he had never done before. Nor was he easy on his own men. Rickman (p. 104)
records that 'Mr. Phillipson [*sic*], lieutenant of marines, lost all his bedding, by the carelessness
of the centinel, who received 12 lashes for neglect of duty'. If anything material
was stolen, Bayly says, 'we got them again by applying to the Chiefs. But whenever we
catch the Thief he is punished with a severe floging & if he is a man of Property Capt Cook
obliges them to ransom him with Hoggs & Fruit, & in some instances may be said to have
been guilty of great cruelty'.—T, p. 105. Edgar records 3 dozen lashes given a Tongan on
shore for theft on 13 June; and in the ship (*Discovery*), on the 14th, 2 dozen and 3 dozen;
on the 17th, 4 dozen; the 24th, 5 dozen, to a man who celebrated dinner with Clerke by
stealing 'one Tumbler and two Wine Glasses'; while on the 28th, when three old offenders
were taken prisoner, 'who had ston'd our Centinels and Wood Cutter's', Cook punished
one with 3 dozen, the second with 4 dozen, and the third with 6 dozen lashes, and had
both the last man's arms scored below the shoulder 'with a common Knife, that he might
be known hereafter, as well as to deter the rest from theft or using us ill when on shore'.—
'this the Man bore with all the Fortitude imaginable as indeed they all did their punishments,
but for all this they continued their Insults and thefts to the last.'—Edgar log,
f. 88. Small shot did no good: the people merely hid in the trees and threw more stones.
[181] Cook rather upset the young Gilbert, who found that the people of Tongatapu 'in every
action ... display'd an Elevation of the mind that wou'd do honour to an European in the
most distinguished sphere in Life'. Yet there was the thieving. 'This vice which is very
pervilent here; Capt Cook punish'd in a manner rather unbecoming of a European vizt
by cutting off their ears; fireing at them with small shot; or ball [this is hard to believe] as
they were swimming or paddling to the shore; and suffering the people (as he rowed after
them) to beat them with the oars; and stick the boat hook into them; where ever they could
hit them. ...' The arm-slashing was 'an act I cannot account for, any other ways than to
have proceeded from a momentary fit of anger, as it certainly was not in the least premiditated'.—Gilbert,
pp. 42–3. We shall see other notes on the subject.

out of a Canoe into the quarter gallery and stole from thence a pew- 648
ter bason, he was descovered, pursued and brought a long side the 685
Ship; on this occasion three old Women who were in the Canoe made 304
loud lamentations over the man and beat their breasts and faces in a
most violent manner, and all this was done without sheding a teer.
This is what occasions the Mark all of them bear on the face over the 304
Cheek bone, where on many occasions they actually cut themselves
with an instrument in the same manner as the people of Otaheite
cut their heads.

Made Mariwaggy some return for his present, exercized the 648
Marines before him,[1] and in the evening played off some fire-works, 177
before all the Chiefs and a great number of people of all denomina-
tions who were both astonished and highly entertained. The King 643
was present and sat behind every body, because no one is allowed to [576]
sit behind him, nor was any allowed to sit before him, a lane as it
were was made by the people from him quite down to where the fire
works there.

Lest amongst their thievery they should steal some of our Cattle 648
from a suppossission that I would leave none behind, I thought 231
proper to make a distribution and mark those I intended to leave. 177
With this View the next evening I assembled all the Chiefs before our Thu. 19
house where the Cattle was. To Fattafee the King I gave a young [643]
English Bull and Cow, to Mariwaggy a Cape Ram and two Ewes, to
Feenough a Horse and a Mare.[2] As the giving away these Cattle was [634]
made known the day before, most of the people in the neighbourhood were present. Omai was desired to till them that there were no such animals within many Months sail of them, that they had been brought them at a vast trouble and expence, and therefore they were not to kill any till they became very numerous, and lastly, they and their Children were to remember that they had them from the Men of Britane; he also explaned to them their several uses and what else

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[1] '. . . in return for the perticular pains the natives has taken to divert us with their Heava's which are exceedingly entertaining Captain Cook has order'd the marines from boath ships, on shore with their Arms and dress'd in their Regimentals—on their landing they were marched up same distance from the beach with Drums beating french horns playing and coulours flying and where receivd by Captain Cook and the other Officers attended by a vast multitude of the natives who where vastly please[d] with their exercise and fireing—in the Evening the marines where sent onboard again after being well refresh'd by the natives.'—Portlock. Bligh is somewhat sour about the British performance: '[A m]ost ludicrous perfor[man]ce for the Marine Officer [was as] incapable of making [his] Men go through their [Exerci]se as C. Cook's Mus[ician]s or Musick was [ill] adapted.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 300.

[2] 'These Presents were not very pleasing to Omai, who remark'd at the time, that the Cattle were for him.'—Edgar, 28 June.—'. . . besides these Animals which are all new to them, they have made shift to steal 6 Cats since the affair of the Cats at Happi, and which can be but ill Spared from Ships so overrun with rats as ours.'—Burney, 5 July.

but not many of the latter except what is made so by art, for they 302
have a method of staining it so that we frequently see different colours [142]
on the same head.[1] The Women in general wear it short, but the men have it in various forms, according to fancy, it is not very uncommon to see a man with the hair cut of one half of his head and on the other half very long. When I was first at these islands, I thought it had been a universal custom for both men and Women to wear it short, and at that time I did not see above one or two exceptions, but now we saw a great many. To have the hair croped, does not arrise from custom 765
wholy, it is a Mark of Mourning, both general and particular.[2] The [302]
amputation of the little finger and cuting, or pricking the face over the Cheek bone with a sharks tooth is done on the same account.[3] 765
And besides this, some tho not many, inflect upon themselves a testimony of their regret for the loss of a friend or relation, *Wounds* which from the scars that remained, must have been deep and to all appearence dangerous; so that at first we thought they had been wounds received in battle. They frequently anoint thier heads and bodies 302
with Cocoanut oil, but as it is very pure and never rancid, no disagreeable smell arises from this Custom. They have the same custom 304
of staining their bodies as is practised at Otaheite, and with very little variation either in the Manner or Method. Thier Kings as a [565]
Mark of destinction are exempted from this custom and also from [765]
practiseing any of those bloody marks of Mourning.

Thier clothing consists of cloth, or Matting, but mostly the former, 291

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[1] Cf. II, p. 267. Anderson elaborates on this. A

[2] 'When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of mourning (*tamanga*). The hair was not "bobbed", but was removed quite close to the scalp. . . . chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha . . .'—Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 199. For Gifford's '*tua* retainers' read 'kin lower in rank than the deceased'. [166] [565]

[3] The maltreatment of the face was certainly mourning; but neither Cook nor any of his men, except Anderson and King, ever seem to have hit on the significance of the amputation or partial amputation of the finger, as a sacrificial or intercessory rite for the life of a sick person. With Bayly, 17 May, indeed we get a triumph of misinformation, worth printing as an example of how far it is possible to go wrong: 'These people cut off the little finger of the right hand at the death of a Father or brother with this difference for a brother they cut off only one joint—but when the father dies they cut off the whole finger; When a sister dies they cut off one joint of the little Finger of the left hand, but at the death of a Mother they cut off the whole finger. For other relations they cut their hair short, & beate the cheake-bone with their knuckles till the blood run which they smear about the face & body where it remains some days & then wash themselves & the mo[u]rning is over.' King gives us sense: 'The rigour of their mourning at once shews that their Affections do not cease at the Grave & that they consider death as a great evil, for the mutilation of the little finger is as a propitiation to avert the consequences in themselves or chiefs of sickness; besides the Tooge of the men, burnt circles on the Arms of the women & their hair cut short, on the death of their relations they beat out their teeth with stones, thrust spears thro the inner part of the thigh, in the sides, below the Armpits & thro the Cheeks, whether all this can wholly arise from Affection or superstitious notions I cannot say.' [782] [755]

A [See 55: Anderson, this file--Analyst]

where we found several people bathing, but the water was too salt to
use and we always found that what they call'd good water was almost 312
intolerable to us, a sure proof that they are entire strangers to it
generally speaking. In one place where it still continued to run out
from under the rock it was somewhat fresher, & might probably be
still more so the longer the water ebb'd, but it was difficult to say
whether this would have been a constant source supposing the tide
never reach'd it, or only a certain quantity wash'd from the earth
during the time the last remaind in these vacuitys and mix'd with it.

When we return'd in the evening Poulaho had a pretty large hog 643
dressd for our entertainment, with Yams, Cocoa nuts &c and afterwards
provided us with as good a lodging as his house could afford, 648
giving us mats to sleep on and cloth to cover us, but our host had
made himself so happy with some wine & brandy we had brought
that it was a matter of much indifference to him where he lay.

FRIDAY 27th. The Wind ESE. Moderate breezes fine weather. In the 132
morning Poulaho told us he was going presently to perform a ceremony
call'd Tooge[1] which they do at the death of their relations and 304
even in other distressing situations. It is done by striking the highest 763
part of the cheek bone alternately with the inside of the fists for some
time, which abrades the skin and makes the blood flow out in a
considerable quantity, at the same time accompanying it with a dolefull
kind of cry or weeping. We were glad to have an opportunity of [276]
seeing a custom so universal that perhaps eight in ten of them retain
the marks of having perform'd it, and great numbers of them very
recent, at which time it looks as if a hollow circle [were] burnt in;
but were disappointed at last, for though he went to an inclosure
where a large circle of people were sitting to drink Kava we saw no
other ceremony than he and the people that were with him putting
some green leaves about their necks, which they broke and threw
down when they came to the place. We had seen them drinking the 216
Kava sometimes at the other islands, but by no means so frequently as
here, where it seems the only forenoon employment of the principal 171
people and the drinking it is confin'd to them only, unless they chance 517
to prepare a little more than is wanted when it is distributed to any 565
person indifferently. The Kava is a species of pepper[2] which they
cultivate for this purpose and esteem it a valuable article, taking 249
great care to defend the young plants from any injury and commonly
plant it about their houses. It seldom grows to more than a mans
height, though I have seen some plants almost double that, and

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[1] *tuki.*

[2] *Piper methysticum.*

764 remarkable except a Fyatocka of one house standing on an artificial
mount at least thirty feet high. A little on one side there is a pretty
644 large open Area and not far from it a good deal of uncultivated
ground, which upon enquiring why it lay waste they seem'd to say
311 belong'd to that place which was Poulahos, and not by any means to
be touch'd. There was also at no great distance a number of E'toa
196 Trees on which clung millions of the large Ternate Bats[1] making a
disagreeable noise. We could not kill any at this time for want of
muskets, but some that were got at Anna'mooka measur'd near three
feet when the wings were extended.

On returning our host orderd the hog that had been dress'd to be
648 brought, with several baskets of bak'd yams and some Cocoa nuts,
574 but we found that instead of his entertaining us we were to entertain
264 him, the property of the feast being entirely transferr'd to us his
guests who were to dispose of it as we pleas'd. The person who cleand
[262] it in the morning cut it up (but not before we desird him) in a very
dexterous manner with a knife of split Bamboo, dividing the several
parts with such quickness and hit the joints so exactly that surpriz'd
us very much. The whole was set down before us, though at least fifty
pound weight, untill we took a small piece away and desir'd they
would share the rest amongst the people sitting round, but it was not
without a great many scruples they did that at last, and then ask'd
what particular people they should give it to. They were however
very well pleas'd when they found it not contrary to any custom of
ours, some carrying off the portion that was given them and others
eating it on the spot, but it was with great difficulty we could prevail
on Futtafaihe himself to eat a small bit.

After dinner we went with Futtafaihe and five or six people who
765 attended him to the same place where Poulaho had carried us in the
[114] morning the last time we were at Mooa, but not into the inclosure.
They hung some leaves about their neck in walking to it as he had
824 done, and when we came to a large open boat house where a few
people were they threw away their leaves, sat down before it and
[304] gave their cheeks a few gentle strokes with the fist, after which they
sat for about ten minutes with a very grave appearance & went away
[292] without having spoke a single word. Every person who went to this
house of mourning had a mat tied over the cloth they wore which
was also the case the day Poulaho went. This explaind what Poulaho
had mentiond about Tooge, though from the beating only lasting a
few seconds he had not been observ'd to do it; and this seems only a

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[1] *Pteropus tonganus*; Cf. Bayly, II, p. 263, n. 3. This was evidently the bat that the Tongans called *taveatea*.

302 over the hair. The other I believe is done in the same manner with
824 turmeric root. They are so exceeding whimsical in their method of
wearing it that it is hard to tell which is most in vogue, though the
302 greatest number perhaps are those that have it cropt short. Others
have it cut off one side of the head while the other is long, some with
only a piece cut out as far as the crown or perhaps shav'd that far,
and others have it entirely cut off except a single lock which is left
commonly on one side, or it is suffer'd to grow its full length without
any of these mutilations. The women except a few wear it short, but
the long hair is such an ornament to the last as well as the men who
wear it so that it is surprizing the practice is not general. Those who
wear it in that manner take uncommon pains in having it comb'd,
each small parcel being carefully seperated from the rest, and I have
seen a woman whose business it commonly is take an hour and a half
302 to dress a mans hair in that manner. The men have their beards cut
237 short which is done with two thin shells, one of them with the edge
broke into small notches being plac'd under the hair that is to be cut
off, and the back of the other press'd & drawn along the intercepted
part cuts it off very short. Both men & women have the arm pits
bar'd in the same manner, but when they cut their hair or shave it
304 very close the operation is perform'd with a sharks tooth. The men
are staind from about the middle of the belly to about half way down
[237] the thighs with a deep blue colour. This is done by what we might
[412] call puncturation or ingraining with a little flat bone instrument cut
full of fine teeth & fix'd in a handle. It is dipt into the staining
[824] mixture, which is prepard from the soot of the Dooedooe and struck into
the skin with a bit of stick untill the blood sometimes follows, and by
that means leaves such indelible marks that time cannot efface them.
They trace in this manner the various lines & figures that fancy
suggests which in some are very elegant either from their variety or
disposition, but as the practice is quite universal it does not appear
whether it is intended as an ornament, or merely a compliance with
one of those old customs for whose institution no satisfactory reason
can be given in after times. The women have none of this about their
bodys but often a few small lines or spots on the inside of their hands.
[751] The men are all circumcis'd or rather supercis'd, as the operation
consists in cutting off only a small piece of the foreskin at the upper
part, which by that means is render'd incapable ever after of
covering the glans, a circumstance which is all they aim at as they
[765] say it is practic'd merely from a notion of cleanliness. Besides the
marks remaining on the cheeks after performing the Tooge there are
great numbers who have concentric circles upon their arms call'd

Ko'ooma,[1] small black spots there and about the body call'd 304
,[2] and in different parts longitudinal prominent scars
nam'd Taffa,[3] none of which are ornamental but marks that show they 765
have mourn'd for their dead relations;[4] the two first of which are
effected by fire, the other by incision, and seems to be done exactly
in the same manner as those of the natives at Van Diemens land who
probably do it on the same occasion.

Their common dress is a piece of cloth fasten'd about the middle 291
either by pushing the ends as they reach over within each other with
a belt of the same cloth, or with a strong roundish plaited girdle [824]
tapering at each end made from the Cocoa nut coir. It reaches to the
ankle but *sometimes scarcely so far, and they often leave* as much
above the fastening as will draw up & wrap round the body and
shoulders when they find it necessary. The most usual next to that is [824]
mats of various sorts fasten'd in the same manner, and over both are
often tied a sort of sash made from the leaves of the Jeejee; but the [285]
people of consequence are distinguish'd from the others by wearing
their cloth plaited; and to make it a full dress, which is done on particular
occasions as in their dances, Natche &c, they put over it a bit
of matt only finish'd in the middle, with the long ends staind red.
There is no distinction between the dress of the women and men and 301
their ornaments are also the same. The most common of these are [291]
necklaces, made of the fruit of the Pandanus and various sweet
smelling flowers which go under the general name of Ka'kulla,[5] others 301
made with small shells, the wing and leg bones of birds, sharks teeth & 291
other things all of which hang loose upon the breast. In the same [824]
manner they often wear a mother of pearl shell neatly polishd, a ring
of the same substance carv'd on the upper part of the arm, rings of
tortoise shell on the fingers, and a number of these join'd together
as bracelets on the wrists. The lobes of the ears (though most frequently [304]
only one) are perforated with two holes in which they wear [302]

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[1] This is rather difficult: *ko uma* does not occur as a single word. *Uma* is shoulder; Anderson's informant probably gave him this word instead of that for a particular fashion of tattooing. 'Concentric circles on the arms and shoulders' was called 'Eetaee', says Labillardière, II, p. 405.

[2] 'Lafo', says Labillardière, ibid., 'Tattooing in the form of freckles on the face and part of the body'. Neither of these expressions for tattooing comes into any other word-list or dictionary I have seen.

[3] *tafa*, to cut in pieces, or generally to cut or lance.

[4] *none of which . . . relations*: Anderson seems to be quite wrong here. Signs of mourning might vary from singeing off the hair close to the scalp to quite savage self-infliction of wounds with clubs, stones, spears or knives; but tattooing does seem to have been purely ornamental. The 'longitudinal prominent scars', on the other hand, may have been those of mourning wounds.

[5] *kakala*, sweet-smelling flowers of any kind, or the trees and plants bearing them.

[1777]

301 cylindrical bits of ivory[1] about three inches long, introduc'd at one
237 hole and brought out at the other, or bits of reed of the same size fill'd with a yellow pigment which seems to be a fine powder of turmeric,
304 with which the women sometimes rub themselves all over in the same
302 manner that our ladys use their dry rouge upon the cheeks. Nothing seems to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness, to
515 procure which they frequently bathe in the ponds which seem to serve no other purpose. They prefer these to the sea, though most of them stink intolerably, because the water is a little fresher and they are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin that when necessity obliges them to bathe in the sea they have commonly some Cocoa nut
302 shells of fresher water pourd over them to wash it off. They are immoderately fond of Cocoa nut oil for the same reason, a great quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders but rub the body from head to foot briskly with a smaller quantity, and (unless to those who have seen this practice) it is not easy to conceive the different appearance and advantage they seem to
[565] receive from undergoing these different trimmings. This oil however
[246] is an article not to be procur'd by every one, and the inferior sort of people doubtless appear less smooth for want of that and more frequent shifting of their cloth, as it is no uncommon thing to see them wash the last though its texture would at first make us think that could not be done.

461 Their domestic life is of that middle kind which I believe the most sensible part of mankind always desire, which is to say it is neither so laborious as to be disagreeable nor so vacant as to suffer them to degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their country that the first can hardly occur and their disposition seems to be a pretty good bar to the last. This happy combination of circumstances is such that their necessary labour seems to yield in its turn to their recreations, in such a manner that the last are never interrupted by the thoughts of being oblig'd to recur to the first till
462 satiety makes them wish for such a transition. The employment of the women is of the easy kind and for the most part such as may be done
462 in the house. The manufacturing their cloth as already describ'd is wholly consign'd to their care, and next to that fabricating their matts
285 seems to be of the greatest consequence. Of these they have seven or eight different sorts for the purposes of wearing or sleeping on and
[824] many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the
[245] tough membranous part of the stock of the plantane tree, those they
[248] wear from the Pandanus, cultivated for that purpose and never

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[1] Whale tooth.

518 scrupled at our most intimate connexions with their women for a
very moderate price, and absolutely converted it into a fix'd article
of trade to their no small emolument. It should not however be under-
836 stood that this is without exception universal, as there are many
837 women who either from their connections, natural timidity, or
absolute aversion to such promiscuous engagements are not preg-
nable on any terms, independent of those who are understood to be
married.

This extensive and gentle empire which Love has planted amongst
them is so far from loosening that it cements the bands of Society.
The sexes seem to live in the most perfect harmony undisturb'd by
jealousy on either side,[1] and what is perhaps still more uncommon,
that almost universal passion seems to be quite a stranger amongst
583 the female part with respect to each other. Amongst the various
lovers that present themselves it may be easily suppos'd a woman will
soon discover, either from interest or desire, one whom she would
wish to attach herself to, & he probably from her assiduity to please
will be fix'd from roving, from whence it is not uncommon to see such
cases before a lasting union is agreed on as far as we could perceive
[163] from circumstances. When that has taken place the domestic felicity
[579] seems to increase; for as they often become mothers at an early age
their affection for their children and care in providing for them
excites their industry in conjunction with that of the husband, and
soon obliterates their wish for such unstable connections as before
855 that period. When they cease to bear children they appear to gain
888 instead of lose respect, and though they then appear to have some
weight in the management of the younger sort it seems ultimately to
be left to the decision of the men, who though absolute excercise
their power in a very gentle manner except in a few cases.

765 Their mutual affection does not cease on this side of the grave, nor
can they believe that death bereaves them of the merit of expressing
their long grief by removing the object from their sight, and rendering
[764] it unsusceptible of the various proofs of their kindness. Nothing
however does them greater credit nor can be a greater proof of their
humanity than the concern the[y] show for and decent disposal of
765 the dead. Their mourning is, to use a common expression, not in
words but deeds, for besides the Tooge, burnt circles and scars
304 mention'd before they beat the teeth with stone[s], strike a sharks
tooth into the head untill the blood flows in streams and thrust
spears into the inner part of the thigh, the sides below the armpits,
and through the cheeks into the mouth—all operations that convey

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[1] But cf. p. 962 below, where a commoner and a chief's wife were concerned.

an idea of such rigorous discipline that must require either an uncommon 765
degree of affection or the grossest superstition to exact. I will 304
not say that the last has no share in it, for in some cases it is so
universal that many could not have any knowledge of the person for [766]
whom the concern is express'd—such for instance as the case mention'd
of the people of Tonga mourning the death of a chief at
Va'vaoo; unless we allow that it is customary to have a general
mourning for persons of eminence, as seem'd to be the case on our
arrival at Tonga, when a great number of the people who had been
with us at Annamooka cut off their hair for a chief who had died at
Tonga a month before, and at the same [time] it should be observ'd
that the painfull operations are only done by the nearest connections.
When a person dies he is buried the same day, after being wrapp'd 766
up in matts and cloth, much after our manner: the chiefs in this case
having the Fyatockas appropriated to them but the common people [764]
are interr'd in no particular spot. What part of the mourning ceremony
follows immediately after is uncertain, but that there is something [765]
besides the general one we were inform'd of from the death of
Mareewagges wife, who died while we were there and was to have
five days spent for that purpose by all the principal people in commemoration
of her.

Their long and general mourning proves that they consider death 763
as a very great evil, and this is confirm'd by an odd custom they
practice to avert it, for when they suspect themselves in danger from 782
sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity. 304
The operation is perform'd with one of their stone hatchets with
which they make a tolerable stump, but never cover it afterwards, [752]
leaving these and all other sores expos'd to the air; nor do they seem [757]
to have any method of assisting the cure of diseases of any kind, the
only instance I saw being some incisions made in a large swelling in a
mans arm to discharge the matter by. There is scarcely one in ten but
are thus mutilated in one or both hands (which is sometimes done
on the illness of their chief as well as themselves) and has a disagreeable
effect, many being cut so short that they have incroach'd
on the bone of the hand which joins to it.

There is another custom amongst them call'd Taboo whose precise 784
meaning we do not well understand. The word itself implys no more
than that a thing is not to be touch'd, and therefore every thing that
is under such restriction for certain reasons is said to be Taboo'd. It
seems a custom of great force and extent and in some measure may be
reckon'd of the sacred or religious cast, relating to things hallow'd
and forbidden. Thus the Fya'tocka at Poulaho's house was not to be [764] [651]

641 even to a much greater degree than is practis'd by us on the most
621 interesting and serious occasions, and whatever may have been the subject of the speech we have never seen any instance of their shewing signs of displeasure or that seemd to dispute the commands it gave. Nay, such is the force of these verbal laws that I have seen an instance of a chief seeming astonish'd at a person acting contrary to such orders, though it appeard the poor man could not possibly have been informd in time to have observ'd them.

There is no where a more evident division of property and perhaps
421 few places where it is better secur'd; for it is plain from the method of
565 furnishing a certain quota on particular occasions, which has been mentiond before, that the superior ranks are by no means entitled to what part they please of the property of those who have any. Whether they have a power to levy these contributions where they please is uncertain, but it would appear the quantitys are limited and that at one time is not very considerable. In countrys where the laws are not recorded customs that have been long establish'd are of equal force, and under the sanction of these the people of Tonga are probably as secure, at least with respect to property, as they would wish for: though the chiefs may punish accidental offences on those immediately depending on them with the severity already mentioned, we have no reason to believe that they can seize any other persons property rapaciously or break through the establish'd customs of the
[651] country with impunity. They have frequently posessions in other islands from whence they draw tribute; at least we know it is so with
[101] respect to the King, who at certain establishd times orders that of the other isles to be brought to Tonga, which is not only the common place of his residence but seemingly of all the people of consequence amongst these isles, who in common conversation call it a land of chiefs while the others are distinguishd by the appellation of lands of servants or villains.

643 These chiefs, of whom we have heard of several popular ones
[551] besides those mentioned, are by the people styld not only Lords of the earth but of the sun & sky, and the King assumes the name of
[776] Futtafaihe from a god of that name who is probably the patron of his family.[1] His peculiar earthly tittle is however simply Tooee Tonga, and though some of the more potent chiefs are perhaps little inferior to him in point of actual posessions, they fall very far short in rank and the particular marks of respect the collective body have agreed
[304] to pay him. It is a particular mark of his sovereignty that he is

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[1] He was supposed to be descended from a god called Fatafehi—hence his peculiarly sacred nature or semi-divinity.

neither punctur'd nor circumcis'd as all his subjects are,[1] and when he 643
sits down it is always by himself, the people seating themselves before
him at a distance in a circle or rather semicircle. No inferior chief, [304]
not even his brother, can eat in his presence though his servants
sometimes do, but not before they have paid him the usual mark of 643
obeisance and wash'd their hands. This last mark or touching the foot 644
call'd Móė Móėa is frequently paid to the other chiefs, but on public 576
occasions every one presses to salute the King in that way with great [264]
eagerness, while the others are scarcely notic'd, in so much that it
sometimes becomes troublesome to him, & few enter a house where he
is that neglect it, either at coming in or their departure. The women
also frequently perform more than this simple method of salutation,
for they not only touch the chin, cheek & crown of the head with his
foot but strike it with great force against their breast. When he leaves [695]
the island the same respect is paid the son intended as his successor,
and indeed at all other times, or if he leaves any particular article
that belongs to him, as a piece of cloth or vessel of any kind, they are
oblig'd to Moe Moea to it in his absence; but if we understood them
properly this inanimate representative posesses a power quite supernatural,
for they say if a person steals any thing and amongst others
is put to the test by touching this he will certainly confess when it
comes to his turn, or if not will afterwards certainly die for his impiety
or presumption. H[e] is said to be the only person allow'd to practice 643
Polygamy, and as a mark of regal distinction wears a bunch of flags
or palm leaves as colours to his Canoe exactly in the manner of our 595
Ensign, calld Goola.[2] Another mark of respect paid to his family is the 643
inferior people being obligd to lower their Yams which they carry on
a pole from their shoulder and, holding them in their hand, stand 644
aside till those have pass'd by. We have also observ'd that food of all 576
kinds both dressd and raw were brought him at all times of the day [482]
from different places, which he generally ordered to be distributed [264]
amongst his attendants, and that seemingly without any previous
notice having been given; from whence it is probable each person
knows the stated time he is to furnish him with a certain quantity of
provision, especially as we never observ'd any kind of store near his
house. In short, if not actually at least nominally he enjoys the 643
privileges, power & respect of a very potent person—especially as

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[1] Superincision rather than circumcision was the Tongan custom. The Tu'i Tonga was too sacred to be allowed to undergo pain in his own dominions, so that if he were to be tattooed it would have to be in some other island—e.g. Samoa.

[2] The word for flag or ensign is now *fuka*. One of the meanings of *kula*, or 'Coola', says Mariner, 'is a species of the paroquet'; so it is possible that the use of it Anderson gives was a metaphorical one.

[1777]

177 appears probable the inhabitants of Tonga think them worthy of
imitation in many respects. I have subjoind three words which seem
104 to differ much from those of the other isles.

Tama'loá	A chief man
Tamaë'ty	A chief woman
Solle	A common man

648 'Feejee is the only place they know that does not bend to their
authority and they are themselves oblig'd in some measure to
[201] acknowledge the superiority of Feejee, a circumstance they always
express by bending the body forwards and covering the face with
their hands. This place is compos'd of several high isles which bear
[509] about w from Hapaee and is much larger than Tonga. Its distance
may be guess'd by their time of sailing to it which with a good wind is
721 three days but with an indifferent one five or more. The inhabitants
sometimes visit Tonga and the other isles in a hostile manner and
carry off their hogs and other things, where they are much dreaded
from their fighting with Bows and Slings but more so from the unnatural
practice of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle.
[266] This practice is destested very much by the people of Tonga (who
mention something of an Island to the eastward where the same
[829] custom prevails) and who cultivate the friendship of those of Feejee
apparently out of fear, though they sometimes venture to skirmish
with them on their own ground and carry off red feathers as their
Booty, which are found in great plenty there and highly valued at
648 Tonga. When they are at peace the intercourse between the islands
seems pretty frequent, though they have been doubtless but lately
177 known to each other, or we may suppose that Tonga and the other
231 isles would have before this been supplied with a breed of dogs which
abound at Feejee, and though now at Tonga were not to be seen
171 when Capt^{n} Cook was here in 1773. Contrary to the practice at
Tonga the women of this place are punctur'd but not the men. We
304 have seen several of both sexes at Tonga who are generally smaller
563 than the natives of that place, are of a deeper and more shining black
and have the hair frizzled. The Ears of some are slit and the lobe
hangs down almost to the shoulder, like the inhabitants of some other
isles in the south sea. They are much respected here, not only perhaps
as a powerfull people but from their ingenuity, as they seem even to
exceed the inhabitants of Tonga in that respect if we might judge
from several things that come from that place: as their clubs and
spears which are carv'd in a very masterly manner, their cloth which
is beautifully checquer'd, variegated matts, their earthen pots, and

Cups made of the Cocoa nut shells, wooden bowls of various sizes, 411 different kind of Vessels made of Clay, Baskets of different Kinds, made of the rind of the Cocoa nut, Bundles of Cloth & fine Matts and [352] their Arms, which consist of Clubs some of which are curiously [415] carved, others plain, most of them made of wood, some few of Stone, Spears which are generally pointed with the Tail of the Sting ray, & 3 pronged Darts and Bows and Arrows which can answer very little purpose in War, their Arrows being too long & the Bows too weak; a Groove large enough to receive the arrow which is made of Cane runs along the inside of the Bow. They keep their arrows in long quivers made of large Hollow Bamboo.

The Places set apart for burying the dead are raised with Gravel 764 about a foot or two above the level of the Ground, on which stand two or three Houses which are constantly shut up but contain nothing in them; these Cemetries called in their Language Dano[1] are kept very neat & clean & the Indians were generally displeased at our approaching them. Besides these there are others raised of Stones which are the burying places of the Chiefs & are called Fyntocka.[2] They [846] have also spots set apart for burying their little fingers which they cut off & for their Children's navel strings, these are raised in the [304] public highway & in size & appearance much like a Country Cockpit, they call them Ejee.[3] Their Manufactures are of various kinds, that of the cloth is the principal, their manner of preparing it differs 287 nothing material from that of the Otaheiteans, tho' it is painted [171] afterwards quite different. They spread over it a kind of brown gummy Substance which gives the Cloth a glazed appearance which [291] might be mistaken for Silk at a little distance; the brown Cloth is the most common & they have not many Varieties of Patterns, it has something of the substance & stiffness of Buckram & it is the general Clothing of both Sexes. Another considerable manufacture is that of 285 Matting of which they have many different Sorts, some white others variegated with black & executed in a very neat & elegant manner, others strong & Coarse; the finest sort they use for Cloathing & to sit upon on extroardinary Occasions, the others are used for sails to their Canoes & to cover the floors of their Houses.

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[1] *tano*. It is curious that nobody else from the voyage reports this word. *Tano*, a cemetery [766] in general; *fa'itoka*, the circular burial places of the chiefs; *langi*, the rectangular, stone-built tombs of the Tu'i Tonga and Tamaha.

[2] sic; *fa'itoka*. Samwell's 'Fyn-' may be a slip for 'Fya-'.

[3] *esi*, 'rest mound'. But Samwell has certainly his information back to front. Some fingers and navel strings may have been buried on some rest mound, but the mounds were not made for that purpose. Some were buried in mounds of their own. 'The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.'—Gifford, *Tongan Society* (1929), p. 185.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

344 kept their Drums. The soil is rich & good & the Climate equal & fine
134 like most others situated in the same Latitude, where there is no cold
Weather & the Inhabitants are not oppressed with Heat.

132 The Chief Produce of the Island is Cocoa nuts, bread fruit, Plantains
& yams & Sugar Cane, all which the Country affords in great
241 Abundance, & there are some Shaddocks, but not near so many as at
231 Middleburg. Their Hogs are not so large as those of Otaheite nor so
numerous, tho' we found plenty to supply the Ships while we staid
[136] among them, there are but few Dogs & many Rats on the Island and
[177] large Batts. They were very fond of our Cats some of which they
stole, for which 2 or 3 of them were flogged on board the Discovery
[685] more than once. They have Variety of Birds some of which they used
[648] to bring on Sticks to the Ship to sell, such as Pigeons & a beautiful
small green & red Parrot and they have plenty of Poultry about their
Houses.

302 The Inhabitants of these delightful Isles are a handsome fine Race
of People; the Men are rather above the common size, strong &
[141] exceedingly well made, of a dark copper Complexion with black
[142] Hair naturally, I say naturally because they daub it over with a
Paste made of coral Powder which changes the Colour of it in different
places into yellow, so that it is of a mixed Colour yellow & black,
and this no doubt is the yellow Hair which Dalrymple takes notice
of as having been seen by Quiros & other former Navigators to the
South Seas, & which he supposes to be natural & therefore concludes
that they are a different race of Men from the other South Sea
Islanders who had not this custom among them, and therefore produces
it as an Argument for the existence of [a] Southern Continent
[171] & that these were some of the natives. This practice is not confined to
these people but common among other Islands in these Seas. They
304 tattaw or mark their Loins & Thighs in various Lines according to
their fancy, tho' there is an uniformity or standard to which they all
approach like the Otaheiteans in tattawing the Breech. Some of
302 them tattaw the Glans Penis. They all shave their beards, which is
done with 2 small shells with sharp edges one laid under the Hair
[237] while they cut the beard with the other, & by this means they perform
the Operation with expedition & get the hair off tolerably
[412] clean, tho' they always preferred our Razors when they could prevail
upon the Ship's Barber to trim them.

Their Dress consists of a piece of Cloth tyed round the middle
291 which descends as low as the Knee with sometimes a matt over it;
others wear what they call a Pooraw[1] which is a Substance between

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[1] *pulou.*

our Cloth & matting very strong & neatly made, some of these are 291
brown others quite white & they are always fringed. They have also
various kinds of Matts with fringes & tossels worked on them which 292
they wear upon extraordinary Occasions, they also wear over all
round the middle a dress made of Leaves more for ornament than 301
use, & they wear one like it but less about their necks, which they
also ornament with Necklaces made of Shells, but these soon gave
way to our blue beads of which they were extravagantly fond both
men & women. The common Dress of the Chiefs & which seemed to 565
distinguish them from the common people was a large piece of Cloth
round their waist & plaited at the upper part, which is done by the 291
women with the same Care & nicety as Shirts are plaited in England
tho' the folds are not near so fine. This was no unbecoming Dress, [302]
they oil their Hair & Shoulders with Cocoa nut oil after bathing, &
thus dress'd and decorated an Amsterdam Chief cuts no despicable
appearance. They wear their Hair long, flowing over their Shoulders,
but they are obliged to cut it off on particular Occasions such as the 302
Death of the Chiefs or of their relations, and for the same Reason 763
both men & women & even Children cut off their little fingers: many 304
of them have both cut off, there are but very few that have not lost
one, they cut it off just underneath the first joint, tye up the Stump 752
with grass & leaves[1] & it soon heals, they cut them off with stone
Chizels & then bury them in the ground. Their Arms & Cheek bones 304
are also marked in memory of the dead. Their walk is strait & 765
majestic & their manners free & open. In their Dispositions they are
friendly hospitable & humane, very tender to & careful of old People 181
and the Sick, & civil & obliging to each other, treat their women well. [516]
I was much pleased with the following instance of their gratitude
which I happened to be a witness to. A large Sailing Canoe having 431
got her rigging entangled with the Resolution's driver boom was in
danger of carrying away her Mast, & the Indians had made several
Efforts but in vain to disengage it, which a young Gentleman who
had the Watch upon deck observing ordered one of the Men to
assist them, who thinking it no part of his duty growled about it &
was very unwilling to go, on which the gentleman jumped on the
boom himself & got the Canoe clear; the Indians then insisted upon
his accepting a large bunch of Cocoa nuts as a present for the Service
he had done them, but this he would not accept tho' he was much
pleased with the Offer.

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[1] There can have been no uniformity of treatment. Anderson speaks of no treatment at all; Mariner says (II, p. 179) that after the operation the stump was merely 'held in the smoke and steam arising from the combustion of fresh-plucked grass', this stopping the flow of blood.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

had come down, one man behav'd very rude & tried to snatch a tool, on 175
which the centry fird & hit the man who made off, & those with him. At 177
the same time at another place where they had been throwing pieces of 609
Coco nut to vex some of the Officers they were chas'd, but as numbers were
flying it was not possible to know who were the Agressors, however three
were seiz'd on & bound, till the Captⁿ came on shore; one of the three was
an old Offender, & another was also known to be a principal in making
disturbances, but in the present case was not guilty, the third had been
lug'd out of a hut where it was said he had hid himself; this man was a
servant of Powlahow, who always handed him his Victuals, he said he had
been asleep when this fray happend; Fatafee desir'd he might be releas'd
but his request was refus'd, & he went away. Feenow tried if he coud buy
him off, but as some of the Gentlemen thought they knew the man to be an
Offender, the Captⁿ would hear nothing in any of their favours, but had
them tied up & well floggd; the servant had an additional punishment
besides flogging, which savour'd of cruelty, & gave great offence to the
Chiefs, as well as to all the standers by.[1] The Centry's fyring & this
Punishment put a stop for a time to their insolent behaviour. I shoud have [171]
mention'd one circumstance which shews a strong similitude in the customs [593]
of these People & those of Otaheite: that the wives or relations of some of [304]
these culprits came, & made terrible lamentations, cutting the top of their
head with a Sharks tooth, as is practis'd there.

ff. 85v–86. [8 JULY.] A very extraordinary personage went along with me 175
call'd Latoonoobooloo, he who was shewn to the Captⁿ last Voyage as the 177
first Chief & whom we had seen at Happai; he had frequently visit'd us at 571
the Observatory, but made a short stay at a time; his temporary hut was 644
on the outskirts of all the rest; he is much madder than his sister whom we 604
have noticed as receiving that particular homage from Powlohow, who 565
we judge from an instance to day is also inferior in some respects to the [609]
brother, although in others higher, since this mad fellow walkd in the [576]
procession as a common chief; he was wanting to give me a hog, & not [264]
knowing where else to find me but at Powlohows house, he came there
roaring out for me; Poulohow had just begun his dinner, but the coming
in of this man made strange confusion, the dinner was hastily remov'd or
coverd over with cloth. Powlohow sat seemingly vexd, & very grave, the
attendants star'd at one another; Latoonoobooloo on seeing Powlohow sat
himself down with that strange aspect which was common to him; I
rous'd him from his seat & relievd the Company by taking him & his
attendants with the hog away with me; Although the People were very
conscious of his being wanting in his mind, yet they paid him great respect
& deference, & if he chose any thing they had, he woud take it from them
& give it me; upon farther enquiry who & what this singular person was,
we were told he was the son of Powlohows aunt (living at Va va hoo) by a
Feegee man. There is another sister besides the one here, who lives with her 175
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[1] This was the arm-slashing, which outraged some of Cook's officers also.

175 account; other disorders which affect their appearance, but not common,
164 are large broad ulcers which appear in every part of the body, & when
[765] heal'd leaves behind ugly scars like bits of skin ty'd together. We also saw
several people with their Arms & legs swelld the whole length to a prodigious size. Notwithstanding these disorders, they may be considerd as uncommonly healthy, for I never heard of any one being seen confin'd sick in his house, & all their actions shew that they are not debilitated by
175 diseases, the Consequence of Indolence or unnatural way of living; the
304 men are punctulated or as they call it Tatowd, from the loins to half down
171 the thighs, often Elegantly, but no spiral lines as at New Zeeland. The
142 women have only a few lines or spots about the hands or fingers. The
175 General figure of the women is too masculine to pretend to beauty: they
562 are of a middle height, stout, well limbd, broad faced, with rather harsh
features, their hands are small with delicate fingers; their Eyes are expressive & countenances the best natur'd in the World, which need not be sour'd from the behaviour of the men, who treat them with regard & tenderness, admit them to their meals & their Kava societies; although
175 custom seems mostly to seperate them on these Occasions. The behaviour
562 of men towards Women is doubtless the best criterion to judge how near
152 Barbarous people approach in manners to civiliz'd Nations: the mildness
571 & good temper so remarkable amongst these People, with that settled
565 respect to their superiors, that perfect command of their Passions, their
157 Peaceable dispositions, & many other Qualities that do honour to the
human mind, prove abundantly that these people are far remov'd from a
175 savage state. We may be somewhat surpris'd how they came posses'd of
181 such Qualities, which require, with all our advantages, no small trouble
685 for us to obtain; Particularly as these People have few Vices that we coud
perceive, to counterbalance their Virtues. They are certainly much given to thieving & one wou'd wish to render this less a crime in them than it would be in us; for that reason I shoud migitate [*sic*] its commonality by observing that it is not the same vice with them as it is with us, that it arises from an intense curiosity, urging them on to possess articles so extraordinary & belonging to a new People; else why do they steal indiscriminately whatever comes in their way, very frequently things that
[565] cannot be of the smallest use to them. The Principal Chiefs were however
in a great measure free from this crime.

175 *Canoe's.* There are two sorts of Canoes. The small ones with Outriggers are
501 from 20 to 30 feet long, 2 broad & 1½ deep, it is sharp like a wedge at both
ends, & widens from the after end to about ⅓ of its length when it begins gradually to grow narrower to the foremost end; towards both ends it is deckd over, the middle space is left open for the Padlers. The Canoe consists of more than 20 pieces, which cannot be from Necessity as the pieces are the same in all, but from design; & these are so neatly join'd together as to gain the Admiration of our Carpenters; the seams on the outside are scarcely Visible, but on the inside is a ridge made from the

535 Summary of Leg Kinemes

These eleven leg kinemes are those that are significant in the Tongan dance system. From this inventory we can now make statements about the use of the legs in this tradition. First we can say that the legs are always flexible at the knee. The main movements of the legs are straight steps to the front, back, or side, and the flexing of the knees. Leaps--that is, jumps from one foot to another--or large steps are not significant categories in Tongan dance. Perhaps this is because full use of the upper leg would be required for a leap or large step.

This limited use of the upper leg is probably most important for a characterization of Tongan leg movements. Although the upper leg certainly does move when taking steps or bending, it moves always
535 as a result of movement of the lower leg and never for itself. In
291 the earliest accounts of Tongan dance the dancers are described as
[304] being clothed between the waist and the knee. It was not considered
in good taste to expose this part of the body and it was this part of the body that was tattooed in ancient Tonga.

516 To move the upper legs by themselves is called fakamahae.[1]
517 Anyone, and especially a woman, who moves this part of her legs is
considered to have very poor taste, and indeed, to be even vulgar.

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[1] This word usually refers only to women.

[424 cont.]

000 burnt as it were at the tips. He had three circular spots on each
175 304 arm, about the size of a crown piece, consisting of several concentric
[171] circles of elevated points, which answered to the punctures of the
Taheitians, but were not blacked; besides these, he had other black
[301] punctures on his body. A small cylinder was fixed through two holes
in the lap of his ear, and his left hand wanted the little finger.
175 He continued his silence for a considerable while, but some others,
609 who ventured on board soon after him, were of a more communicative
201 124 turn, and after having performed the ceremony of touching noses,
175 spoke a language which was unintelligible to us at that time. In
the mean while we arrived at the N.W. point of the island, where we
struck soundings on a good bottom, in an open road, and let go our
175 anchors about nine in the morning. We were presently surrounded by
439 a number of canoes, each containing three or four [425] people,
175 who offered great quantities of their cloth for sale. The canoes
501 were small, about fifteen feet long, very sharp built, and decked
[171] or covered at each extremity. Most of them had out-riggers made of
poles, like the small canoes at Taheitee, but the workmanship of
these boats was infinitely preferable, as they were joined together
with an exactness which surprised us, and the whole surface had
[171] received an excellent polish. Their paddles had short broad blades,
something like those of Taheitee, but more neatly wrought, and of
175 better wood. They made a great deal of noise about us, every one
439 shewing what he had to [illegible]l, and calling to some one of us, who
175 happened to look towards them. Their language was not unpleasing,
[609] and whatever they said, was in a singing kind of tone. Many were
[565] bold enough to come on board, without expressing the least
[431]
[201]

175 [432 cont.]
142 the beard shaven or rather clipt by means of a couple of sharp muscle
302
237 shells, (mytili.) The women were, in general, a few inches shorter
175 than the men, but not so small as the lower class of women at Taheitee
141 and the Society Isles. Their body was exquisitely [433] proportioned down
175 to the waist, and their hands and arms were to the full as delicate
142 as those of the Taheitian women; but like them they had such large
feet and legs as did not harmonize with the rest. Their features,
though without regularity, were as agreeable as we had in general
observed them at the Society Isles; but we recollected many individuals
there, especially of the principal families, to which none of these
could be compared. The complexion of both sexes here was the same,
a light chesnut-brown, which had commonly the appearance of perfect
175 health. That difference of colour and corpulence, by which we immediately
565 distinguished the ranks at Taheitee, was not to be met with in this
[142] island. The chief, who had visited us on board and accompanied us
[171] to the shore, was in nothing different from the common people, not
even in his dress; it was only from the obedience which was paid to his
175 orders that we concluded his quality. The custom of puncturing the
304 skin and blacking it, was in full force among the men, and their belly
[171] and loins were very strongly marked in configurations more compounded
than those of the Taheitians. The tenderest parts of the body were
not free from these punctures, the application of which, besides
being very painful, must be extremely dangerous on glandulous extremities,
and justly excited our astonishment.

> _______ et picta pandit spectacula cauda! HOR.

[434]

175 The women, however, were exempted from this custom of disfiguring
304 themselves, and had only a few black dots on their hands. But
besides these, both sexes had three spots on the arms, consisting of
concentric circles of punctures, without any blacking, which I have
175 mentioned before. The men in general went almost naked, having only
291 a small bit of cloth round the loins. Some, however, wore a dress
[171] nearly resembling that of the women. This was a long piece of cloth
[531] made of bark, in the same manner as the Taheitee cloth, but afterwards
painted chequerwise, or in patterns nearly resembling our painted
floorcloths, and covered with a size, which turned the wet for a long
while. This they wrapped round their waist, the men nearly about
their middle, the women more immediately under the breast, and in
[171] both it commonly descended below the knees. Instead of the cloth
they likewise substituted mats, extremely well wrought, in form resembling
those of Taheitee, and sometimes, though rarely, covered
175 even their shoulders and breasts with them. The men frequently wore
301 a string round their necks, from which a mother of pearl shell hung
237 down on the breast. The women often had loose necklaces, consisting
of several strings of small shells, intermixed with seeds, teeth of
fishes, and in the middle of all the round operculum or cover of
[304] a shell, as large as a crown-piece. Both their ears were perforated,
and sometimes with two holes, and a little cylinder cut out [435] of
175 tortoise-shell or bone, was stuck through both the holes. Sometimes
301 these cylinders were only of reed, filled with a red solid substance,
531 painted and lacquered with different colours in regular compartments.
175 The most singular circumstance which we observed among these people was,
304 that many of them wanted the little finger on one and sometimes on both
291

[435 cont.]

175 hands; the differences of sex or age did not exempt them from this
304 amputation; for even amongst the few children, whom we saw running about
[291] naked, the greater part had already suffered this loss. Only a few
grown people, who had preserved both their little fingers, were an ex-
175 ception to the general rule. We immediately conjectured that the death
304 of a near relation or friend might require these strange mutilations,
171 in the same manner as is customary among the Hottentots, in Africa (10);
the Guaranos, in Paraguay; and the Californians; and our enquiries,
though unsuccessful at first, afterwards confirmed the conjecture.
175 Another singularity, which we observed to be very general among these
304 people, was a round spot on each cheek-bone, which appeared to have been
burnt or blistered. Some had it quite recent, in others it was covered
with a scurf, and many had a very slight mark of it's former existence.
[171] We could never learn how and for what purpose it was made; but we sup-
posed it could only be [436] used like the Japanese moxa, as a remedy
against various complaints.

175 Notwithstanding the engaging manners of the natives, we foresaw
122 that we should make but a very short stay among them, because our
439 captains could not obtain refreshments in any considerable quantity;
which might be owing not so much to their scarcity upon the island, as
to the difficulty of making our goods current for such valuable articles,
175 when they could obtain them in exchange for arms and utensils. They
439 had brought indeed a few yams, bananas, coco-nuts, and shaddocks for
[227] sale, but they soon dropt that branch of trade. Our people purchased
[237] an incredible number of fish hooks made of mother of pearl, barbed with
[171]

10. See Kolben's account of the Cape of Good Hope; also the Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, par M. Pauw, vol. II. p. 224, 229.

[451 cont.]

175 the event shewed that we were not mistaken. We found a beautiful
764 137 green lawn, enclosed on all sides by shady bushes and trees, amongst
which casuarinas, pandangs, and wild sago-palms appeared with their
various tints of green. A row of Barringtonias, as big as the loftiest
oaks, formed one side of it, and shrewed it with their large blushing
175 flowers. At the upper end of it, there was a rising two or three feet
764 high, set out with coral-stones cut square. The area above was
covered with a green sod, like the rest of the lawn. Two steps,
likewise of coral rock, led up to this part, in the midst of which
a house was situated, exactly like that which we saw at Ea-oowhe.
Its length was about twenty, the breadth fifteen, and the height of
the ridge ten feet. The roof descended sloping nearly to the ground,
and was made of banana leaves. We entered into this building with
only one of the natives, the rest keeping at some distance. We found
the floor covered with broken pieces of white coral rock, and in one
corner a heap of blackish pebbles, about eight feet long, which was
[304] elevated a foot above the white stones. The native told us that a
[763] man lay buried there, and pointing to the place where his little finger
had formerly been cut away, he plainly signified that when his
[532] maduas or parents (13) died, they mutilated their hands. We found two
[171] pieces of wood a foot long, carved [452] into some resemblance of the
human figure, like those which are called e-tee at Taheitee, but they
were treated in the same manner, that is without the least degree of
respect or veneration, being frequently trod upon and kicked about.
These burying-places, which are called a-Fayetooca in the language
of the country, are always delightfully situated on green lawns, and

[778] 13. Perhaps any relations in the ascending line.

175 [470 cont.]
648 venture to determine, though I am inclined to adopt the former opinion.
609 Captain Wallis probably saw Cocos and Traitors Islands in 1767, which
000 he called Boscawen's and Keppel's Isles; but his people did the natives
no hurt, except frightening them with the discharge of a single
musket. M. de Bougainville saw some of the north-eastermost isles
belonging to this group, of which the inhabitants had the same general
character. He called his discovery the Archipel des Navigateurs,
175 justly enough, as many ships have fallen in with it. Since Tasman's
648 time, no other navigator has had any intercourse with the isle of
175 Amsterdam, which he discovered, previous to our arrival. During a
178 space, therefore, of one hundred and thirty years, they have not
materially changed their manners, dresses, way of living, disposition,
175 &c. &c. Our ignorance of their language prevented our obtaining
439 positive proof that they still preserved, by tradition, the memory
[124] of former visitors; but they possessed some nails, which must have
[412] been brought to the island in Tasman's time. [471] We purchased
one of these nails, which was very small and almost consumed with
rust, but had been carefully preserved by being fixed on a wooden
handle, probably to serve the purposes of a googe or borer, and is
[415] now deposited in the British Museum. We likewise bought some small
earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and
suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards
we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives them-
175 selves. The accounts of Schouten, Tasman, and M. de Bougainville agree
171 with ours, in respect of the agility with which the natives committed
[648] petty thefts. Tasman and captain Wallis have likewise observed their
● [304] [565] custom of cutting off the little finger; and according to Schouten's

[471 cont.]

175 171 and Le Maire's circumstantial narratives, the natives of Horne Island
304 were as submissive to their king as those of Tonga-Tabboo. The
565 000 experience of the superior power of the strangers, made them respectful even to servility towards the Dutch; their king prostrated himself
before a Dutch purser and their chiefs placed their necks under his
175 foot (23). These excessive marks of submission seem to border upon
meanness and cowardice; but we never had reason to suppose them
175 tinctured with these vices. Their behaviour towards us was commonly
181 accompanied with that freedom and boldness which the rectitude of
609 intentions [472] inspires; and though really polite, was never unbecoming.
Here, however, as in all other societies of men, we found exceptions
to the general character, and had reason to lament the behaviour of
175 vicious individuals. Dr. Sparrman and myself having left the beach
123 where the Latoo attracted the attention of all our people, entered
the wood in pursuit of farther discoveries in our branch of science.
[124] The first discharge of my fowling-piece at a bird brought three
natives towards us, with whom we entered into conversation, as far
as our superficial knowledge of their tongue would permit. Soon after,
Dr. Sparrman stepped aside into a thicket in search of a bayonet,
175 which he had lost from the end of his musket. One of the natives,
123 finding the temptation of the moment irresistible, grasped my fowling-
648 piece, and struggled to wrest it from me. I called to my companion,
and the two other natives ran away, unwilling to become accomplices
in this attack. In the struggle our feet were entangled in a bush,
and we both fell together; but the native, seeing he could not gain
his point, and perhaps dreading the arrival of Dr. Sparrman, got up

181 23. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages in the Pacific Ocean, vol. II. p. 41.

175 [475 cont.]
171 only drink of the salutary element, but likewise bathe so frequently
312 in it that no impurity can long adhere to their skin. It is very
different with a people who are absolutely denied this blessing,
and who must either content themselves with putrid stagnant rain-
175 water in a few dirty pools, or go entirely without it. They are
515 obliged to have recourse to expedients in order to preserve a
certain degree of cleanliness, which may preclude various distempers.
175 They therefore cut off their hair, and shave or clip their beards,
302 which doubtless makes them look more unlike the Taheitians than they
171 would otherwise do. Still these precautions are not sufficient,
175 312 especially as they have no fluid for drinking in any quantity. The
175 body is therefore very subject to leprous complaints, which are
164 perhaps irritated by the use of the pepper-root water or awa.
175 Hence also that burning or blistering on the cheek-bones which
304 we observed to be so general among this tribe, that hardly an
individual was free from it, and which can only be used as a remedy
000 against some disorders. The soil of the Society Isles in the plains
and vallies is rich, and the rivulets which intersect it, supply
175 abundance of moisture. All sorts of vegetables therefore thrive
171 with great luxuriance upon it, and require little attendance or
433 cultivation. This [476] profusion is become the source of that
great luxury among the chiefs which we do not meet with at Tonga-
175 Tabboo. There the coral rock is covered only with a thin bed of
433 mould, which sparingly affords nourishment to all sorts of trees;
134 and the most useful of all, the bread-fruit tree, thrives imperfectly
312 on the island, as it is destitute of water, except when a genial
000 shower happens to impregnate and fertilize the ground. The labour

127 this is one limitation that must be considered: how much did the missionaries actually see and how much was heresay from other Europeans? The only way this can be checked is by constant reading of the accounts and seeing whether or not the missionaries actually acknowledged the help of Europeans. In this instance, the Wesleyan missionaries made such an acknowledgement but in other accounts they may not have and the researcher must take this limitation into consideration.

127 Because of the Wesleyan's religious bias, they frowned upon
797 amusements, sports, dancing and games. Their accounts are sparse on
these aspects of aboriginal Tongan life and this is one limitation for
which there is no solution: if the observer did not like what he saw
127 and did not record it, it simply is not there. The following statement
797 by Watkin is an isolated description of aboriginal tatooing practices:

> ● 304 On my return this evening I found the artist whose work it was to perform the operation of tatooing the persons of the Islands during the reign of Idolatry. They then thought that it imparted a higher degree of personal beauty to such as underwent the painful operation, and there are some who wish to imitate their predecessors such is force of custom, although the idea that it is wrong pretty generally prevails (Watkin, Journal, April 1834).

127 The following description by Dyson, of the aboriginal game termed lafo
797 is another isolated statement in the manuscript:

> 525 [524] An amusement called the "lafo" has just reappeared in this town. The manner in which it is performed is as follows. Four natives usually engage in it at once. Each has a pc. of a nut shell wh. he pitches across a mat & the two who lost have to give the other two a basket of food. The Leaders at our Mtg. called my attention to it today. I went immediately to the Governor & he said it was unlawful & would punish the persons who did it.

> 127 Their gods who are intelligent agents are demons or
> .192 the departed spirits of men eminent in their day for
> 776 their abominations while gods irrational and inanimate swell the number to an almost Grecian amount
> (Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836).

775 This Watkin example was referred to in the previous chapter (p. 35)
797 and I stress once again the fact that the ethnohistorical researcher must evaluate the specific descriptions in the context of the observer-observed milieu. To the Tongans of the early 19th Century, 'otua was a spirit and a god whereas to the Wesleyan's 'otua was a demon, devil, or the aboriginal god.

127 Factual consistency, both internal and external, must be constantly checked for by the ethnohistorical researcher. The following Watkin description proves to be internally consistent with his last description in reference to "inanimate" aboriginal Tongan gods:

> 127 In the long list of Tonga gods was the rainbow and the
> 782 Whirlwind. Eclipses were grand sources of dread especi-
> ● 304 ally of the sun to remove they resorted to human
> [821] sacrifices, and as a lesser offering to that of cutting
> [776] off the little finger a loss which most of the adult inhabitants of these islands have sustained. Sometimes they attempted to deceive their gods by merely scarifying the finger previously amputated and smearing it with blood bind it up and present that before the god as a recent amputation in his honour! But this was I suppose when every available joint of both little fingers had been sacrificed on former occasions (Watkin, Ibid., February 12, 1836).

These two entries by Watkin, of February 4 and February 12, serve as a check on his own internal consistency in his descriptions. External consistency checks on the digital, or actually phalanx amputation, is provided in the account of an early 19th Century French voyager who visited Tongatapu in 1827:

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> The custom of cutting off a joint from one hand or the other to offer it is sacrifice to God, Hotoua, in the event of a serious illness of a father or close relative, still existed in all its force (Dumont D'Urville, April 29, 1827, p. 8; also see Dumont D'Urville n.d., pp. 93-94).[7]

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The ethnohistorical researcher must take into consideration as many eyewitness descriptions of aboriginal Tongan products as possible, to avoid "obscure and elusive" statements of ethnohistorical fact. Disagreeing eyewitness descriptions must be taken into consideration by the ethnohistorical researcher and weighed accordingly. The ethnohistorical researcher must first collect the various descriptions of 'otua, analyze them, and then make a synthesis in the form of a statement of ethnohistorical fact.

> The ethnohistorian has to construct a picture of things as they really were and of events as they really happened. The investigator's sense of coherency and continuity rests on a feeling for the way in which the dimensions of time and space are structured and form a framework for the exposition of the culture of the ethnic group. All data must be consistently related, and not to an imaginary picture. For the picture to make sense its relation to the evidence must be apparent. The truth of ethnohistorical statements rests on an appeal to the evidence [stress added] (Dark 1957: 231-232).

This citation from Dark is precisely what the ethnohistorian's eventual statement of ethnohistorical fact rests upon: consistently related evidence in the descriptions. The statement of ethnohistorical fact is a construct based not so much on "feeling," but also on the logical and progressive analysis of the descriptions in the context of the observer-observed milieu.

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> Yesterday I accompanied Messers. Thomas & Hobbs to the Bea (a place where heathenism still abounds) to witness a ceremony of rather a novel and interesting nature, viz. the removing of the bones of a great chief whose demise took place about twenty years ago. He was buried originally in a small canoe which was deposited in sand, and had a shed erected over it. Now they have prepared a stone vault in which to inter him; we witnessed only a part of the ceremony. It did not terminate until today. On these occasions they inflict very severe punishment on themselves as a proof of their love for the person who may have died. They burn themselves on the cheek bone and [304] other parts of their bodies and then they keep striking with their fist that part of their face which has been burnt, some cut their heads & faces with sharp stones and shells, while they assure those who are dead that they are almost dying for love to them. If the deceased had been warriors or had distinguished themselves in any way during their life, their most noted action would be recited at their funerals [stress added] (Tucker, Letter-Journal, entry of July 24, 1833).

Tucker clearly states that he was a witness to part of the ceremony and that the entire ceremony was at a minimum, a two-day ceremony (or per-
127 haps a twenty-four hour ceremony--from noon to noon). He provides us
765 with details on the behavior of individuals attending a funeral ceremony or a hikitanga, or re-burial ceremony. The ethnohistorical re-
127 searcher is still not certain of the relationship between the dying
764 chief and the re-buried dead chief, but Tucker's description provides a confirmation or external consistency check on Thomas' journal description of the canoe in which the dead chief was originally buried and the "house" (Thomas) or "shed" (Tucker) erected over the old burying place where the canoe was located in the sand. The possible significance of this shed over a burial place is clarified by Turner, who was witness to a burial at Vava'u. Turner wrote ("should a chief die in his house that house would be sacred for 6 months - or would be removed

127 over the grave" (Turner, Journal, February 18, 1833).

764 A final description of the hikitanga ceremony of July 23, 1833 comes from Thomas' post-1850 manuscript account. Thomas provides in- 127 formation which confirms descriptions from all previous accounts of 765 the hikitanga~~, as~~ well as new details and information.

> Fae of Bea is still very ill, but firmly attached to
> [304] his heathenism, he has had a new stone vault got ready for his body in his fort, and this day disinterred the body of Takai his older brother formerly the warrior chief of this fort, and three other friends of the Lavaka tribe, and now the people of Bea are performing funeral ceremonies for them a second time, it being what is called the hikitangaa with the crying of the women, and beating their bosoms, and the frantic speeches of the men who cut themselves and break their heads until the blood gushes out and runs down over their bodies. This
> [776] of course is in sorrow to the dead and especially
> [565] to Takai the Tutelar God - and at one time esteemed the Hau, or How of Tonga.
>
> The bones of the different chiefs were carefully laid in new clean matts - with black cloth and wealth and thus covered and laid out in a large house prepared for the occasion, where the chief mourners were all seated and where lights were about to be kept burning all that night in honour of the dead, and the mourning
> 127 would be kept up. Large quantity of native property was presented, as is usual at the funeral of chiefs
> 797 called tukuofo - and the next day the chiefs would be laid in the new vault with all the usual ceremonies,
> 763 of persons lately departed, but as our time did not admit of our remaining to witness that part, we first
> [765] waited upon Fae and again urged upon him the importance of caring for his soul, but turning to God, but found him most firmly determined to die to the gods of Tonga, and although he was now near death yet he was firm to his gods. He was more ernest than usual, and almost angry to think that he should be talked to on such a subject. Our last words that he would most assuredly find out that Jehovah was the true God. We then left him [stress added] (Thomas MS. 1b: 923-925).

Genus **Cyathula** Loureiro

137 **Cyathula prostrata** (Linnaeus) Blume, Bidjr. Fl. Java., 549, 1825.

Low, subprostrate, pubescent herb, the slender stems spreading and rooting at lower nodes. Leaves opposite, rhombic or ovate, acute at both ends, up to 5 cm. long and 2 cm. wide, petioles up to about 1 cm. long. Flowers very small, in loosely flowered clusters, in slender, elongated, terminal, spikelike racemes, reflexed in fruit, perianth segments becoming rigid, hooked awns.

'Eua: in forest clearing near summit of eastern ridge, Mar. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15562.*

Vava'u: *Barclay; Crosby.*

Tafahi: along road, depression of former crater on summit of Piu 'o Tafahi, Dec. 11, 1951, *Hürlimann 451.*

Niuatoputapu: on hillside above Hihifo, Dec. 5, 1951, *Hürlimann 335.*

A plantation and waste area weed throughout the group. Pantropic.

Tongan name: *tolomo'unga.*

Genus **Achyranthes** Linnaeus

Achyranthes aspera Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 204, 1753.

Coarse, erect or decumbent herb, up to 40 cm. or more tall, pubescent in younger parts. Leaves opposite, oval-obovate, acute, base wedge-shaped, entire, up to 12 cm. or more long, petiole 1-2 cm. long. Flowers small, greenish, sessile, in a long, slender, usually simple, terminal spike; fruit dry, about 5 mm. long, abruptly reflexed.

Tongatapu: *Moseley;* weed in waste area near sea below village of Niutoua, Mar. 2, 1953, *Yuncker 15137.*

'Eua: *Lister;* trailside weed on sea-facing terrace near Lokupa, Mar. 27, 1953, *Yuncker 15517.*

Lifuka: weed in plantation near sea above Pangai village, May 10, 1953, *Yuncker 15800.*

Vava'u: *Barclay.*

Tafahi: roadside weed, Dec. 15, 1951, *Hürlimann 540.*

A common plantation and waste area weed throughout the group. Pantropic.

Tongan name: *tamatama.*

304 752 824 Used to tie up wound in circumcision.

Genus **Alternanthera** Forskål

Alternanthera sessilis (Linnaeus) R. Brown, ex Roemer and Schultes, Syst. 5: 554, 1819.

Spreading, subprostrate, branching herb, rooting at lower nodes, internodes with two pubescent lines. Leaves opposite, narrowly elliptic-obovate or oblanceolate, obtuse or acutish, base cuneate, entire, up to 5 or 6 cm. long, petiole up to about 1 cm long. Flowers small, scarious, sessile, white, in compact, axillary, headlike clusters.

782 deities in Pulotu. *Kau'inima* (the cutting off of fingers as a
[793] sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods
in order to save the life of a chief. In April 1842 the Reverend
[787] John Thomas wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee in London:

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> January 10th, 1842, died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was of many weeks continuance . . . At length it was feared that he would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to no purpose. On the 7th of January, a youth named Feheko, a Chief's son, about twelve years of age, was offered in sacrifice to the gods. His own father and another man strangled him; but all was in vain. (*W-M Mag.* 1843:258)

784 So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were
attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the
731 spirits of dead relatives.

753 Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial
761 places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were
made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of
778 their prestige and importance the priests received food and other
[792] gifts from the people (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1843). The
sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were being pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufa'itahi, whose priest was Kautai at Mu'a (Gifford 1929:300; Blacket 1914:121-3). The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded in his diary (9 Dec. 1822) how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he (Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wantonness of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being
[688] killed at once'. In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from
attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a crime that a human life would have to be offered in atonement. (Martin 1827, I:190).

Pulotu was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu
775 where anything mortal could not survive. The chiefs considered
[565] that the commoners had no place there. Hence commoners were

671 through Taufaahau, all the early dances and songs and many of
[533] the ancient customs; . . . Through the suppression of the ancient
songs, much valuable information regarding the early history of
[535] Tonga has been for ever lost.' Section 8 of the new law, consistent
689 with the teaching of the missionaries, specifically mentions tradi-
[304] tional customs such as tattooing, circumcision and 'any other
idolatrous ceremonies' which are punishable by fines.

681 Except for liquor retailing and drunkenness, for inducing seamen to leave their ships with the intention of staying in Tonga, and for allowing pigs to run loose and damage gardens, the laws did not stipulate any fixed punishments. Consequently, punishments for various crimes were left to the discernment of the magistrates.

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797 Desiring to inflict penalties in accordance with Christian principles, King George and his magistrates naturally consulted the missionaries on the matter:

> The King [wrote one missionary] came up to ask our opinion about punishing those who violate the laws of the land. They have punished them of late by beating them in the face with the fist. We told the King that we did not like the manner of punishing culprits, but that like himself we were at a loss to give any new mode which would be useful as almost every kind had been tried and had failed . . . We recommend hard labour and to appoint officers to look after those appointed to work. (P. Turner, Journal, 28 Feb. 1842)

[798] The consultation of the missionaries on this matter gave rise to resentment, and mission houses at Neiafu were burnt down and Peter Turner (Journal, 18 Aug. 1845) told King George that the missionaries no longer wished to be consulted on the subject of punishment, since 'the most abandoned of our people might think that we influenced the judges to inflict certain punishments upon them'.

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643 Thomas recorded in his journal on 20 November 1839 that the Vava'u Code would be put in force at Ha'apai too, which group was also under Tāufa'āhau's rule from 1820. It appears, however, that these laws had been acted upon in Ha'apai long before this date, for Dr Lyth (Journal, 12 Dec. 1838), who was working at Ha'apai at the time, reported in December 1838 that 'The King [Tāufa'āhau] assembled the people from all the islands [of

There were three divisions in the Tongan Pantheon — the Tangaloa, gods 776
in the sky, the Maui in the underworld (who caused earthquakes and gave other
evidence of their power), and Hikule'o, who presided over Pulotu, the paradise
in the west. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the high priest of Hikule'o and 776
his wife, the Moheofo, was priestess or servant *(kaunanga)* of Hikule'o. The 793
priests of the various deities professed to receive and utter oracles from the gods [643]
in trance-like experiences. Only the priests entered the gods' houses; the suppliants [644]
sat humbly outside. The priests were not always respected, especially when their [787]
statements did not suit influential interrogators. Tongans believed also in gods
of natural forces (the winds, the sea, the harvest), gods of sacred places, and
even creatures which frequented these places and were thought to embody the
spirit of the ancestral chief of a neighbouring tribe.(10)

The offering of human sacrifice by strangulation, when a chief or a member 782
of his family was threatened with death, was never practised as frequently as [171]
in Fiji and became less common as time went on; instances, however, were
recorded by Mariner during his sojourn in Tonga (1806-10) and by missionaries
later. The victim was generally a youth, the child of one of the chief's secondary
wives. Instead of a life it became customary to amputate fingers and offer these 782
as substitute sacrifices. Cook wrote, 304

> "There was scarcely one in ten I did not find mutilated in one or more hands." (11)

George Tupou I (c. 1797-1893) had lost two little fingers in his youth. When
a chief died, women cut their hair and beat their cheeks until they were covered
with blood, and men wounded themselves with clubs and spears, to show their
sorrow and their devotion to the deceased. The more savage practices found in 171
Fiji, such as cannibalism, infanticide, and the premature burying of the very old, 266
were practically unknown in Tonga. There was indeed a great respect for the 847
aged and a strong affection for children. Cannibalism, in imitation of Fijian 888
customs, was practised in the Civil Wars which began in 1799, but it was 888
regarded with utter abhorrence in normal times. 858
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* * * *

Tonga's usually orderly and pleasant existence continued through the 177
centuries until the early 17th Century when the first contact was made with Europeans who, in the people's phrase, burst through the skies with their tall ships; hence the word for Europeans, *Papālangi*, or sky-bursters. This happened first in the distant northern islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Jan Schouten and Jacob Lemaire came in two ships around Cape Horn searching for what was expected to be a great southern continent in the vast expanse of the South Pacific Ocean. On 9 May 1616 the Dutchmen saw a canoe with about twenty-five people; these were Tongans whose first knowledge of the outside world was the firing of warning shots. The Dutchmen followed the canoe to Tafahi and the adjacent island, Niua Toputapu. The visitors did not land on either. Surprised at the appearance of human beings so different from themselves and ships so unlike their canoes, the people attempted to steal one of the ships' boats during the trading for vegetables and other supplies. When the vessels were going across from Tafahi to Niua Toputapu, a large fleet of canoes attacked the ships with stones. No fatalities occurred then, but, during the subsequent visit of the Dutchmen to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west, two Tongans were killed when trying to capture one of the ships' boats. It was an unhappy introduction to the Tongans' contact with Europeans.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1797]

white men's ships. The Tongans did not show the least interest in Christian 797
teaching and, under the circumstances, this was hardly surprising. 175

It is easy now to find grave errors in this venture. To teach the Tahitians [177]
and Tongans trades and to endeavour to set up a model society along English lines was idealistic but impracticable. The uneven quality of the members of the mission party was a serious handicap. They had been selected mainly for their knowledge of trades, and some of these trades were inapplicable to the islands (for example, bricklayer, butcher, draper, hatter). Some of the men were not sufficiently grounded in their faith and were liable to succumb to the temptations of a strange and enervating environment. Only six of the thirty missionaries on the *Duff* were married; twenty-two were under thirty years of age. Dr. Haweis had actually favoured using single men, with the hope, he said, that they might marry converts from the families of high chiefs in the interests of further conversions.(1) Of the thirty, twenty proved unfaithful or unequal to the work.(2) Five of the original party in Tahiti remained faithful and were rewarded with eventual success. It was this minority who finally justified the Society's enterprise in Tahiti. The record of most of the L.M.S. survivors in Tongatapu indicates that they also were loyal to their commission.

The *Duff* reached Tahiti, after its long voyage, on 5 March 1797, a Sunday; and on that day the Gospel was first preached in the South Seas by Evangelicals. Those who had come to work in Tahiti had brought a rough vocabulary compiled by one of the crew of the *Pandora* which had called there six years before. On the other hand, there was nothing whatever prepared for the ten men who elected to go to Tongatapu; they had to depend for interpreters upon several castaway whites who generally were hostile. If civil war had not occurred the missionaries might have learnt the Tongan language in the same way as their nondescript interpreters had done. Without knowing the language, without any reliable authority to support them, living among a thieving population and a few whites who became treacherous opponents, and with their own indifferent intellectual equipment, the L.M.S. had insuperable obstacles from the outset.

Before leaving Tahiti the ten missionaries designated for Tongatapu chose Seth Kelso as their leader. On 19 March Kelso was ordained by the four ministers in the party who themselves had been ordained before leaving England.

On 10 April 1797 the *Duff* anchored off the small island of Pangaimotu, Tongatapu. Two days later the men landed and met chiefs including Mumui, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who expressed his desire to be taught how to make the kind of furniture he had seen on the ship. The missionaries decided to fix their residence in Hihifo, the western district, under the patronage of Tuku'aho, the son of Mumui. On 17 April the first sermon in Tonga was preached by John Buchanan; and the party observed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on 7 May.

Very soon after their arrival the missionaries witnessed the "paroxysms of
grief" which marked the funeral of Mumui who died on 27 April. Two of the 643
king's wives and a grandson had been strangled before his death. The funeral 764
ceremonies were attended by about 4,000 people. Hundreds of men used clubs 175
and spears to injure themselves. The missionaries were sickened by the daily 768
scenes of self-inflicted blood-shedding. [304]

Before the *Duff* left Tongatapu a runaway sailor more friendly than the 797
others on the island informed Captain Wilson of a plot to capture the ship. Eight 609
large double-canoes and hundreds of men surrounded the ship; they had to be 175

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

175

304 Plate 1*a*. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W. Hodges.

782 Plate 1*b*. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.

292 Plate 1*c*. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālote Tupou III, December 1965.

764 Plate 2*a*. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.

765 Plate 2*b*. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.

285 Plate 2*c*. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.

531 Plate 3*a*. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).

531 Plate 3*b*. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465). 127

293 Plate 4*a*. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.

714 Plate 4*b*. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.

301 Plate 5*a*. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.

535 Plate 5*b*. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.

534 Plate 6*a*. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapaee'. Engraving after Webber.

000 Plate 6*b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.

Plate 7*a*. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.

Plate 7*b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.

Plate 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]

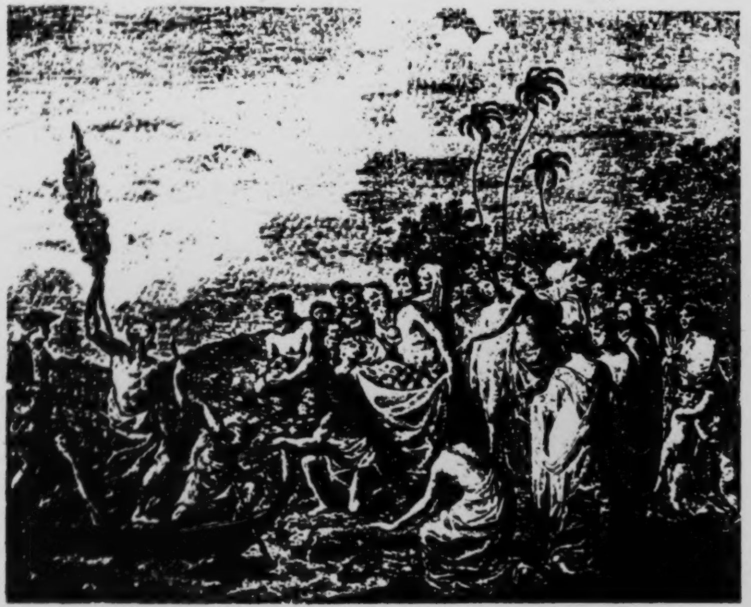

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PLATE 1a.

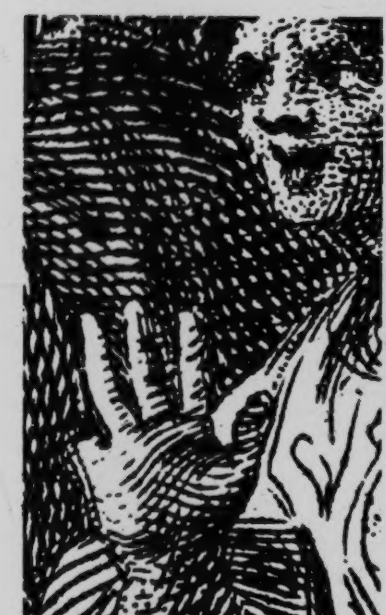

PLATE 1b.

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PLATE 1c.

[End Plate I]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

175

unrelated chiefs such as Finau but derives ceremonial status by being related to the 634
Tu'i Tonga through his sister. 244

As a final example of the complexities of Tonga's interlocking ranking systems 571
let us look at an engraving made from an illustration by Hodges on Cook's second 175
voyage of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1*a*).A We are at first a bit overwhelmed 114
by the Greek-looking Tongans in flowing garments and European
visage—reflecting certainly the European vision of the noble savage in his peaceful
Utopia. Bernard Smith in his excellent discussion of this engraving (1960: 52–3)
points out that it was probably Cipriani who did the figures in a Hodges landscape.[6]
George Forster criticises the picture thus: 'But it is also greatly to be feared, that
Mr Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from Nature in the
course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own
elegant ideas' (Forster 1777: I, 427).

These critics, however, seem to miss the ethnological importance of this picture, 175
for here we have the first (and only) depicted example of finger sacrifice. If we look 304
closely (plate 1*b*),A we see that several of the individuals have parts of their little 782
fingers missing—the Tongan practice of *to'o nima*.[7] In their accounts, the Forsters 114
and Cook miss the real significance of the practice. Reinold Forster writes that the
'greater part of the same nation want the two first joints of one, and sometimes [765]
both the little fingers, which they cut off as marks of their grief, for deceased
parents or relations' (1778: 269). Cook more cautiously tells us: 'we could not
learn the cause of this mutilation with any degree of certainty, but judged it to be
on account of the death of their parents' (Beaglehole 1961: 268). Anderson on the 175
third voyage gets it almost correct—'for when they suspect themselves in danger 114
from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity,' and that it 782
'is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves' (Beaglehole
1967: 947). From later accounts, however (e.g. Martin 1818 and Gifford 1929), it is 304
quite clear that the practice was a sacrifice within the *kāinga* by one of lower rank 755
to cure a sickness of one of higher rank. The lowest ranking, to follow our *kāinga* [612]
ranking principles, is the mother's brother or mother's brother's children, or someone [604]
of the same kinship category. It is said that there were often arguments over
who would have the honour to give the sacrifice. This sacrifice was done within
the family and taken to the priest of the sick person's god. A place name in Tungua
Island in the Ha'apai group is known as Tangi to'o nima, i.e., crying at finger [103]
sacrifice, and is traditionally the place where this took place on behalf of the
Tamaha.

Individuals in the group who were eligible to give finger sacrifices are also in the 602
group who cannot eat in the presence of individuals of the higher category. This
group also has specific functions at funerals—where they are known as *liongi*.
Whole societal lines stand in this kind of relationship to other lines. For example,
Tu'i Lakepa's line stands as 'father' to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line, and all individuals
of Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line must treat those of Tu'i Lakepa's line as one would treat a
'father'. Further, the Tu'i Tonga's line must treat both Tu'i Lakepa and Tu'i
Ha'ateiho as one would treat a sister's child, because the Tamaha came from these
lines (i.e., Fale Fisi). This situation is especially intense at the chiefly level. Cook was 175
disappointed at the mourning ceremony he attended but his description is invaluable. 765
His account would seem to indicate that the ceremony was not for the king's son, 554

A, [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst] 612

/59 cont./

301 165. For example, kofu lou fau knotted of
292 colored hibiscus bast for the laka-laka,
535 ula and tau'olunga dances; kofu lou 'akau, of
824 white tapa (feta 'aki) with mohokoi leaves
(Cananga odorata), which are stitched on with
hibiscus bast for the laka-laka and ma'ulu'ulu
dances; sala sipi-sipi of tapa (feta'aki) dyed
with European dye for the laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu
tau'olunga dances. Dance shirts are also made
of white tapa (feta'aki) studded with shimmering
shells or red seed capsules. For dances some
/women/ like to adorn themselves with maile
leaves (Alyxia species) around neck, waist and
wrists.

and the tapa vala trimmed with leaves, worn on similar occasions by
women and by the men who may possibly take part. In the kie-kie lou
292 fau, the dance shirts and the dance vala, old and new cultural assets
535
177 are fused, the Tongan basic material and ancient basic forms being
301 "enriched" with European dyes, imported plants and novel form elements
(for example, sleeves, decorations).

301 There is no longer a distinction made between nobles and commoners
184 in the realm of adornment.
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In general, it made be said of today's adornment in Tonga that
301 the former varied richness it represented for the native has gone and
177
178 was in no sense replaced by European cultural assets. The plant
adornment, as well as the (partly altered) dance garments are the
only important vestiges which, to be sure, are still very much bound
up with Tongan life.

/60/

Tattooing

304 In the art of tattooing there was an even greater change, which
[178] we may characterize as degeneration.
[182] In ancient Tonga all men, with the exception of the highest
dignitaries, (166)

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166. Probably on account of special taboos.

/60 cont./

304 were tattooed. (167)

167. Cf. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 326; J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 279/280; W. Waldegrave, Extracts.../cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 194

304 Tattooing, which consisted of elaborate figures and patterns, each of
531 which had a special name, covered the abdomen and thighs, that is,
all parts of the body from the hips to the knees, (168)

168. Mariner says: "...from within two inches of the knees up to about three inches above the umbilicus" /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 266).

including the penis. Women were little tattooed, for the most part only on the inside of the hands (fingers and palms), on the arms and sometimes on the legs, (169)

169. First observed by Waldegrave (see above).

304 with dotlike and star-shaped patterns. Among the Tongans it was
[554] generally considered unmanly not to be tattooed. Non-tattooed men
[626] would have been ridiculed by other men and more especially by women.
(463) Usually special experts carried out the process when the person
[413] reached adulthood. They used comblike instruments (made from the
(237) wing bones of wild ducks), dipped these in a mixture of soot (from
[386] *Aleurites moluccana* [L.] Willd.) and water, and, with a small stick
and in a rather time-consuming procedure, hammered the pattern into
the skin. (170)

170. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 256/266.

304 This ancient tattooing, which was perhaps a fashion taken over
171 from Samoa--although practiced for centuries--, has today almost
178 entirely disappeared. In various villages of the Archipelago a few
old men are still living who have this kind of tattoos, but they are
Samoans or Tongans who some time ago submitted to the process in
Samoa where this art is practiced to a certain extent even today.

/60 cont./

304 178 However, a large number of men and older women in Tonga wear tattoo marks (*tatatau*) in the form of letters (block letters), namely their initials, chiefly on the inside of their forearms. (171)

171. Their forearms are usually bare (short or rolled-up sleeves).

[532] In addition, one sees a few men who have pictorial tattoos, such as birds, (dove, the Tongan heraldic animal), lions or two crossed flags. These are generally worn on top of the forearm or on the chest.

Thus we find an essential change in Tongan tattooing: the old ornaments have been lost and in their place /61/ have appeared the prosaic, though in Tonga greatly esteemed letters, as well as a few European symbols. And tattooing shifted from the parts of the body generally clothed (hidden tattoos) chiefly to the unclothed forearms (visible tattoos).

Usually the operation is undertaken at the age of 16, which probably corresponds to the age for ancient Tongan tattooing. In [177] place of the old comblike bone instuments the Tongans now use European (sewing) needles (*hui*), thorns of orange twigs (*tala 'i moli*) and needles of the *kakatisi* tree (*tala 'i kakatisi*), sometimes also [386] shark's teeth. As in former times, they take the soot of burned *Aleurites* or, since it is more convenient, the soot on iron cooking pots, mix it with water, apply this black liquid to the skin part to be tattooed (on the design), puncture the skin with the needle through the color solution and then wipe off the soot water--along with the blood--from the surface of the skin. After a few days the punctured skin becomes blackish and the tattoo is fully visible. Occasionally they now also use red ink instead of the soot water. The length of time required depends on the energy of the person being tattooed and his ability to withstand pain; about an hour is the average. In [463] general, any Tongan can perform this type of tattooing, but there are

/61 cont./

304 178 463 some natives who are especially experienced and expert. The present non-specialization is one reason why tattoos usually lack all refinement and appear clumsy.

304 178 Even these simple tattoos seem to be becoming gradually fewer, though many young men and some girls still have them done. A person who has himself tattooed does it because he regards it as "beautiful," as an adornment; moreover, the undertaking satisfies the need of many young Tongan men to appear strong and brave. However, tattoos are no longer an indispensable attribute of manliness; no one holds a non-tattooed person in contempt. Many an older Tongan regards his tattoos as a curiosity from the past and advises his children against "disfiguring" their bodies. In fact, it is not certain whether today's method of tattooing is a degenerate remnant of ancient Tongan tattooing art, or whether the latter died out some 100 years ago and the "modern procedure" was then borrowed--perhaps from European seamen. However, the term tatatau is the same today as it was in ancient Tonga. (172)

172. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 265.

/62/

Circumcision

304 The ancient Tonga custom of circumcision (173)

173. Compare J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 264/265.

(kakau or tefe) has persisted undiminished to this day. All male Tongans, probably without exception, are circumcised. The custom [177] is so deeply rooted in the people that centuries of European influence have led to no decrease, and an adult Tongan, indeed, even a boy of 13 or 14, would be ashamed if he were not circumcised; in any case, he would be talked about in the village.

Commonly, boys between the ages of six and twelve (most often nine or ten) submit to circumcision. Their parents make the appointment with the person undertaking it who usually circucises several

/6 cont./

304 boys at a time. Thus, for example, in 1951 on Nomuka, B.S. Matata reported that in a good half hour he treated 22 boys. Most circumcisions nowadays are undertaken in December, since many uncircumcised pupils then being promoted in the village schools want to begin the new school year in "proper" condition. Though (463) (178) (743) there are still a few aged, experienced Tongans who perform these operations, to an increasing extent since around 1920, boys have gone to hospitals or to the small stations of "medical practitioners" and "dispensers" /cited in English/; today--even on the small islands--this already seems to be the normal procedure.

Two methods are therefore customary at present. According to the technique used by aged Tongans, a small piece of hard wood (pahihi) is pushed under the foreskin, then, with a piece of broken glass (from a bottle) or with a razor blade (substitute for bamboo knife and shell) (174) an incision is made in the foreskin and the two halves are lifted to the sides; they become necrotic or are cut off with scissors. The juice of pounded leaves (ate?) are dripped into the resulting wound the wound is covered with other leaves, the penis is bandaged with white tapa (feta'aki) and tied upright with a feta'aki belt placed around the waist and drawn between the legs. According to the "Hebraic method" used in hospitals, the foreskin is drawn forward and cut off as far as possible, the remainder being incised. Treatment and care of the wound proceed in the usual European manner. In addition, there are various modified "private procedures." For example, the dispenser of Nomuka performs circumcision by drawing a knife under the foreskin.

304 852 /63/ Nowadays, festivities in connection with circumcision scarcely take place. People regard the operation as a necessary and natural procedure to which one must submit, and attach no deeper

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174. Compare J. Martin, loc.cit. II. p. 264.

/63 cont./

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meaning to it. (175)

175. Many Tongans are of the opinion that circumcision is necessary for reasons of cleanliness (see also J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 280.

A small festivity in connection with circumcision was still common 40 or 50 years ago. Relatives and friends were invited and a castrated pig, which was raised over a period of two or three years expressly for this purpose, was roasted. The old sources do not report anything about speical rites connected with circumcision, and there probably were none. However, the attitude toward circumcision seems to have become more matter-or-fact. (176) [178]

176. Shifting circumcision to hospitals and small stations--that is, away from the village community--no doubt partly contributed to this development.

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Apart from that, and from the use of European instruments and new methods, and a lowering of the age for circumcision (177)

177. Circumcision is said to have taken place in ancient Tonga at the age of 14 (Geschichte der christlichen Missionen.../History of Christian missions/. loc. cit. o. 48); village community life and common schooling of youngsters are probably the reasons why they are now circumcised between the ages of six and twelve.

the ancient custom is still in full force.

2. THEIR SOCIAL ORDER

A. Family Life

a) Marriage, Family, Kinship

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The Tongan family consists of husband, wife and children. As a rule, marriage is contracted properly according to law and Tongan custom (festivity). There are also "common-law" marriages (that is, couples live together without sanction of the law and the church), but there are regarded as exceptions. (178)

764 /86 cont./

the grave on a truck.

[602] The nearest relatives follow behind the bier, then the more distant
relatives and finally the accompanying villagers. In villages that
[533] have a brass band it walks at the head of the funeral procession and
[177] plays a European "funeral march."

764 As a sign of mourning the widow, the sons and daughters of the
765 deceased, as well as the children of the deceased's younger brothers
302 and the close relatives of lower rank have their hair cut off; among
all the other relatives (that is, also sons and daughters of the deceased's sister) the women wear their hair loose, the men /wear theirs/
[178] uncombed. This custom reflects the ancient kinship hierarchy. Other
764 formerly customary /87/ practices, such as the burning of spots on the
765 body, the beating and rubbing of the cheeks until they are sore,
304 and the wounding of the head (246)
178

246. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 223/224.

are no longer observed, just as the custom of sacrificing finger joints for the recovery of higher-ranking relatives (247)

247. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 222.

764 has not been practiced for a long time. Naturally, the sacrifice of
765 a child (248)
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248 Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 220.

177
643 and the widow sacrifice (249)

249. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 221.

(once customary apparently only following the death of the supreme ruler, the Tu'i Tonga) has long since been forgotten under Christian influence.

764 If the deceased was a Catholic, the body, beside which the
794 priest (or catechist) said prayers during the night in the hut, is
borne to church in a procession, and, after the appropriate rite,

/247 cont./

771 p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the [346) islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs. [778) Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The 793 (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no 771 means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

[776) They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs [787) asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them. 755 In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the 782 sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their 304 565 little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665)

771 665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454; II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

[784) 666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff. If a specially serious crime was committed, the natives also tried to avert disaster threatened by the gods through a child sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

771 In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief 797 (667)

177 667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339. II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)

000 /305 cont./
T F especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies
515 there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European
177 T influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.
F 302 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the
177 Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion,
T F and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing
291 of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very
177 much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far
more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of
adornment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes;
the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the
T F Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji
304 has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in
178 "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is
apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga,
is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it
a deeper significance.

T F In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in
581 Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis
177 as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception
997 of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago
T F under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas
593 604 the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother"
178 T survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more
F 601 drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have
T F kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages
585 of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show
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tacked to meet her. It[A] was about 15 feet in length, without any 123
carving or ornament, and having a single outrigger. There were 501
four natives in it, all naked with the exception of a little tappa, or 505
native cloth, wrapped round the waist, and reaching down to the [291]
knee. They came out against a heavy swell, often dashing right
through the crests of the waves, which at times broke completely
over them. They were talking to each other with great rapidity 123
and animation as they approached, and, as we looked at them, not 505
at all expecting to hear anything we should understand, one of 191
them hailed us in perfectly good English, "Square the main
yard!" As this had been already done some short time before
to allow the canoe to come up with us, this speech was no
doubt intended to show us how well he could speak English. A 505
rope being thrown over, one of them scrambled up the side, the
canoe pushing off again with the rest. The native who came on 142
board was a fine man about six feet in height, with really handsome
features, and a fine open expression that was quite prepossessing.
He was tatooed upon the breast and across the back of one hand, 304
and had lost one of his fingers. When he came on deck he announced
himself as a pilot, asked whether we were English or 502
French, and then pointed out the passage through the reefs to
the anchorage, watching the ship, and saying "very good," as she
came up to her course, and then, going forward, took up his station
on the bowsprit. The entrance to the anchorage is between a 502
mass of coral reefs and islets on the northern side of the island, and
is very narrow, but our native pilot showed the greatest coolness 133
and judgment in conducting us through it. Within the entrance
the anchorage spreads out into a bay with deep water right up to 133
the reef which skirts the shore.

Owing to the want of high ground there is nothing very striking [368]
in the appearance of the island, which from the sea forms a continuous
line of palms rising over a beach of coral, the highest part
being the small mount opposite the anchorage at Nu-ku-alófa, on
which stands the native church and a small stone, marking the
grave of Captain Croker, of H.M.S. "Favourite," who was killed
at Béa, in the island, in 1840. Upon the beach were some very 361
large sheds, and many pretty huts enclosed by neatly made fences.

When we had anchored, a whole fleet of small canoes, bringing 505
crowds of natives, came off to the ship. In the afternoon a party
was made up to go on shore. At the landing-place we were met, 123
by a large troop, principally children and young women, with two [411]
or three young men, one of whom carried a bayonet fixed upon
the end of a pole. The women were dressed in short jackets of [291]
coloured cotton, with sleeves reaching down to the elbows, and
petticoats of tappa fastened round the waist. As we were going [797]
away to look for the houses of the missionaries, a native came

[A] [i.e., a Tongan canoe--Analyst.]

General Remarks.

Kava.—The use of the kava, from its intoxicating property 276
when taken in any quantity, is discountenanced by the missiona-
ries, but the custom seems to prevail nearly as much now as when
Cook visited the islands. It is the first thing prepared by a chief 276
when visited by his friends, and to neglect this would be considered 574
a want of courtesy amounting to insult, which would be highly 576
resented. At kava parties the ring is kept clear, no one who is
not employed in some duty connected with the ceremony being
allowed within it, and to walk across it would be considered as an
insult to the whole assembly. The kava is carried by inferior chiefs [554]
to those of higher rank, and the king would take it to the Tamahá [565]
or Tui Tonga Tagata. When they have drank the kava they throw
away the small cup in which it is served, and at neither of the 276
two great kava meetings we saw was the same cup used twice.
It is considered best when chewed by young women. In my strolls 249
round the island I saw several plantations of it; the young shoots 123
had just spread into leaf and were hoed, the ground between
them being carefully cleared of weeds.

Human Sacrifices.—The last human sacrifice was offered at Mua 782
about eight years ago, on the occasion of the death of Fátu, the 766
chief of the place, to propitiate the god who they thought had
punished them by thus depriving them of their chief. It was
a boy, about eleven years of age, who was strangled with a piece
of tappa passed round his neck, and then drawn tightly by two
men, one of whom was his own father!

Finger Sacrifices.—Many of the natives have lost their little 782
fingers. These were formerly cut off by the parents of the chil- 304
dren as offerings to the gods, to obtain success in war, or to propi-
tiate them in cases of sickness.

Disease in Children.—The children when first born, and for 164
some time after, are very healthy, but invariably about a certain
age break out into sores which spread all over the body. I have
observed the same thing at Cape York, and some of the islands
of Torres Straits, where the natives call it Badálli, and attribute
it to the influence of the Mydállaga, or men who deal in charms,
or to the ill wish of some secret enemy.

The Tabu.—Whatever might have been the mysterious nature 784
and origin of the tabu, it simply means now something forbidden.
A tent being set up near the beach for the purpose of affording 784
shelter to the men who were sent ashore to burn lime, and to con-
tain their clothes, provisions, and cooking utensils, the natural 609
curiosity of the natives made them rather troublesome, which being
observed by an old chief, he called them all out and placed the